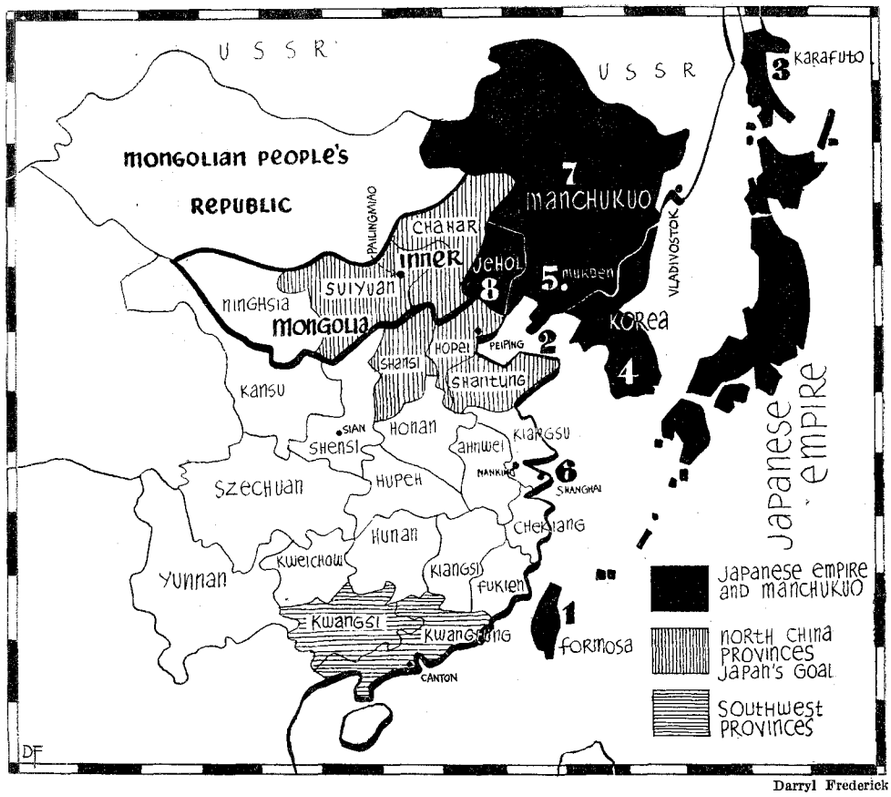
NEW MASSES

DECEMBER 29, 1936



Darryl Frederick

Theater of the recent maneuvers and Japan's aggression since 1895. 1: Formosa ceded to Japan in 1895. 2: Port Arthur and Kwantung Peninsula leased by Japan in 1905. 3: Karafuto ceded to Japan in 1905 by Russia. 4: Korea annexed by Japan in 1910. 5: Mukden seized by Japan in 1931. 6: Shanghai bombarded by Japanese in 1931. 7: Manchuria declared the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. 8: Jehol Province annexed by Manchukuo in 1933.

The Chinese Chessboard

The kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek is the dramatic expression of a series of moves and counter-moves, with Japan playing a deep game

By Theodore Draper

NEVER was there woven a tapestry of more intricate imperialist design by fine Japanese hands than the strange se of the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek Chang Hsueh-liang. The details of the it have a fascination of their own, but they : treacherous because it is easy to get lost them to the extent of obscuring the funda- ntal forces at work. The motives, rivalries, st records of both men are not remotely as portant as the underlying factors: the ne- ssity of Japan for precisely such a diversion advance its program of conquest, and the ed for the unification of the Chinese people s the condition for effective resistance to Japan's further penetration. The still-confused complex of events in the kidnaping takes on meaning and significance only by reference to these factors.

The chief actors in the drama are not merely two individuals with very spotty records, but rather, one, the dominating figure in the central government of China at Nanking, and the other, a provincial war lord whose very person reeks with the corruption, disorder, and national disunity of the feudal past. More than anything else, national disunity has been the official Japanese pretext for dismembering China. That is why China stands to lose if the provincial war lord wins; China will gain if the central government gets the upper hand.

As president of the Executive Yuan (council), Chiang Kai-shek is head of the civil government of all China; as chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, he is commander-in-chief of the national army. This government, whatever was true of it in the past, has more recently been the instrument for advancing the national unification of China, especially since the settlement of the southwest "rebellion" last summer and the successful resistance to the Japanese invaders in Suiyuan. It is not necessary to assume that Chiang Kai-shek has a personal stake in the unification of China; historical forces, backed by the hearts and minds of the broad masses, are at work.

Chang Hsueh-liang is a provincial war lord who will be remembered after the other war lords have been forgotten, chiefly because of his shameful surrender of Manchuria to the Japanese in 1931. Chang not only failed to put up resistance; he prevented anything but abject surrender until it was too late. Then Chang just ran away. For a time, he was forced to live abroad; cowardice made China an unsafe refuge. On his return, Chiang Kai-shek entrusted him with command of the "bandit-suppression" (i. e., anti-Communist) forces in Honan province, but Chang failed to exterminate anybody but thousands of his own troops. When the Red Army more re-

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cently moved up into Shensi and Kansu in the northwest, Chang was shifted into the same territory.

The details of the kidnaping may be taken with the utmost reserve. Chiang Kai-shek, so the cables go, was careless enough to visit a hot springs twenty miles from Sian, capital of Shensi province and headquarters of Chang Hsueh-liang, without protection, just in time to be confronted by a mutiny of Chang's troops. Chiang and a number of other high government officials were seized and arrested by Chang, who immediately broadcast his demands to Nanking: a war of liberation against Japan; unification of China through the recovery of all territories seized by Japan; and reorganization of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) to admit Communists to membership, reverting to the status of 1925-27.

It was not clear, at first, whether Chiang was dead or alive. Rumors flew thick and fast: that Chiang was safe but hardly sound considering his position; that he had been spirited into inaccessible Shensi retreats; that he had been slain. Behind the whole plot, according to the early dispatches, were the Chinese Communists and the Soviet government. Chang Hsueh-liang's three demands were pointed out as obviously Communist-inspired. It was said that Chang had already concluded a Communist alliance. This is the most significant element in the whole situation, and bears the closest scrutiny.

THE KIDNAPING of Chiang Kai-shek was nicely timed to suit the immediate requirements of Japanese imperialism.

For the past eight months, native troops from Manchukuo, under Japanese direction, have been encroaching upon the province of Suiyuan from the east. The Japanese invasion of Suiyuan is an extension of the whole line of Japanese conquest in China from the snatching of Manchuria in 1931, the annexation of Jehol in 1933, to the establishment of a puppet Hopei-Chahar Political Council in 1935. This last was Japan's first concrete bid for power over all the five northern provinces: Hopei, Chahar, Shantung, Shansi, and Suiyuan. The immediate goal of the Japanese is to set up a puppet state in Inner Mongolia, comprising Ninghsia, Chahar, and Suiyuan. Such a puppet state would effectively separate the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), an independent state with a mutual-assistance pact with the Soviet Union, from the rest of China and provide a necessary base for attacking the Lake Baikal region of the Soviet Far East. It would also put Shensi, Shansi, and the rest of Hopei completely at the mercy of Japan.

The Japanese timed their first penetration of Suiyuan with the disaffection of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, the two important southwest provinces which were only nominally under the control of Nanking. They could not take advantage of that crisis because Chiang Kai-shek settled it too quickly and without the firing of a shot. Severe fighting finally occurred in early November of this year between the Japanese-dominated Mongols from Manchukuo and the Suiyuan troops faithful to Nanking. The invaders were repulsed at the border town of Pailingmiao and that Japanese adventure came to a temporary halt.

The Suiyuan failure created a ticklish situation for the Japanese. This attempt had tested the strength and spirit of the Chinese. Now Japan had to raise the ante by bringing in its own troops. Their Suiyuan setback had a tremendously invigorating effect upon the whole anti-Japanese movement throughout all China. It was a living demonstration that resistance against Japan is not futile when there is a united will to fight.

At the same time, Japan announced an anti-Communist pact with the Nazis which was going none too well. This anti-Communist agreement, signed on November 25, was only a belated sequel to an anti-Soviet pact signed by Japan and Germany on January 6. The pact was received with exceptional disfavor by the democratic countries. The Soviet government precipitated a split in the ranks of the Japanese bourgeoisie by refusing to sign a vital fishing agreement, and more or less of a government crisis ensued in Japan.

These are the most important special circumstances behind the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek. Japan, for one, needed this diversion in order to strengthen its hand in Suiyuan. Nanking would have to withdraw troops and materials from that province to Shensi to meet the threat by Chang Hsueh-liang, if all went well with the Shensi plot. In the second place, the Shensi affair exactly suited the purposes of Japan in terms of its treaty with the Nazis against the Soviet Union. Japan now needed a Communist threat to China's unity, even if such a threat had to be organized under its own auspices.

It must be remembered that the treaty with the Nazis has changed the Japanese situation with respect to China in an important respect. The conquest must be speeded up so that Japan may not be embarrassed in the event that the Nazis are soon forced to move towards the Ukraine to avert an internal explosion. A unified China is a wall between Japan and the Soviet Union. The Shensi kidnaping, if it could be somehow pinned on the Chinese Communists and the Soviet government, would give the Japanese foreign office the opportunity to say: "Chang Hsueh-liang has demonstrated to us in person the necessity of the German-Japanese agreement."

To be sure, that is what a Japanese foreign office spokesman actually did say. But after *Izvestia,* the Soviet government organ, published a sharp reply in which it directly accused Japanese imperialism of fomenting the Chang Hsueh-liang disaffection, the Japanese foreign office hastened to absolve the Soviet Union of all blame in the affair—and itself at the same time. The gesture merely showed that the Shensi war lord was not doing so well, and might have to be left in the lurch.

ONE element in the whole case which has been completely neglected to date is the fact that the Japanese foreign office and the Japanese press in Shanghai (much more responsive

to the needs of Nippon's military clique than the press in Japan) has for the past three months been carefully spreading propaganda to the effect that Chang Hsueh-liang was splitting away from Chiang Kai-shek, in favor of an alliance with the Chinese Communists and the Soviet government for an anti-Japanese war. On September 29 the Shanghai *Nippo* reported that Chang had signed a "truce agreement" with the Communists whom he had been sent to exterminate. That mouthpiece of the Kwantung (Japanese) army also broadcast the charge that Chang intended to break away from Nanking, set up an independent state, and strike up an alliance with the Soviet Union. From then on, the Japanese press assiduously cultivated the theme, although Chang Hsueh-liang denied the reports in an interview with the correspondent of the London *Daily Herald* on October 2. Furthermore, we know that Chiang Kai-shek flew to Sian on October 2 where he held a conference with Chang and other northern generals. According to the Shanghai *Nippo,* the trip was made because Chang had become extremely dissatisfied with the treatment accorded his troops by Nanking. In retaliation for this threatening anti-Nanking position, the paper declared, Chiang had decided upon a "reorganization" of Chang Hsueh-liang's army.

Why all this elaborate fanfare by the Japanese press? It would seem that the Japanese were becoming very anxious to get rid of Chiang Kai-shek. On December 1, the Hearst papers published an article by Sadao Araki, Japanese imperialism's bitter-ender, former minister of war and member of the Supreme War Council. Twelve days before the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, Araki wrote as follows:

I am afraid that if General Chiang Kai-shek dances to the Soviet tune, he will be shot to death while in his trance, by young Chinese Communists who will take the opportunity to dispose of him so that they may, under Soviet direction, dispose of the present Chinese government and pave the way for an invasion of all China in a sensational coup d'état that would startle the world.

A really remarkable prediction. Ten days later, Chang Hsueh-liang emerges as the

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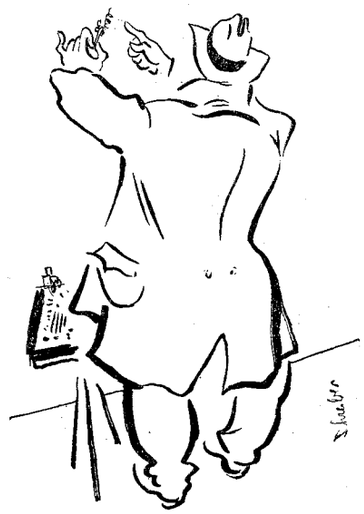

DAY BEFORE CHRISTMAS

The Sidewalks of Union Square

Drawings by Georges Schreiber

"young Chinese Communist" who decides that Chiang Kai-shek "will be shot to death." It is painfully obvious that Araki is so good a ophet because his clique has had a hand in anging events—even if a war lord of Chang sueh-liang's corruption has to pose as a Com- ist.

ese facts would tend to prove that there thing unpremeditated about the present uation. If there existed an actual split-in-the-making between Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang, then the Japanese militarists started to make capital of it and exploit its possibilities three months ago. If no such break between the two was imminent, then the Japanese press may be charged with the bold and diabolic intrigue of nursing a myth that one of the war lords was turning anti-Japanese because it could be turned to their own account.

NOW CONSIDER the Soviet aspect. The (Japanese) Domei news agency persistently reports that Chang Hsueh-liang has concluded an alliance wtih the Soviet Union against Japan and Nanking. The Japanese imperialists are not so numbskulled as to believe that kind of rot, even their own. The Japanese Foreign Office, when it permitted or ordered the publication of this canard, was certainly aware of the stand taken by the Soviet Union in the case of the Kwangsi-Kwangtung southwest revolt. At that time, on July 29, *Izvestia* wrote:

> This issue is significant in many respects. The southern Chinese generals acted under the banner of the struggle with Japan. But their defeat in no way means the defeat of the anti-Japanese ideas by which they were allegedly led. On the contrary, the failure of this attempt to earn political capital by means of an anti-Japanese movement is explained primarily precisely by the fact that the action of South China, not only in reality was not directed against Japan, but directly favored the plunder plans of Japan. This fact was realized in time by Chinese public circles. This provocation failed also, because in the eyes of the entire Chinese nation the anti-Japanese campaign of the southerners showed as a screen for the mercenary, semi-feudal provincial separation of the local military clique, whose victory would still further weaken China, and would be advantageous only for Japanese imperialism.

Izvestia issued a similar statement soon after the news of Chiang Kai-shek's kidnaping reached Moscow. The first Japanese attempts to implicate the Soviet Union were false not only because of strict non-interference by the Soviet government in the internal affairs of China, but also because the Soviet government, on principle, is opposed to any action which would disunite China. A unified China is a bulwark of world peace.

DESPITE the fact that Chang Hsueh-liang raised pro-Communist and anti-Japanese slogans, the program of the Chinese Communist Party is condemnation of his deeds. Its record is just as clear as that of the Soviet government. It would take too long a digression to give any adequate account of the fifteen fateful years of the Chinese Communist Party, but its main line of development is pertinent to the issue at hand.

From its beginnings in 1921 until the spring of 1927, the Chinese Communist Party steadily increased in numbers and influence as the result of an alliance with the Kuomintang. In the midst of a victorious campaign against enemies internal and external, the national bourgeoisie in the Kuomintang, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, treacherously turned on the Communists, murdered them by thousands, and came to terms with the Japanese militarists on a policy of capitulation. From this point on, the Communists were put on the defensive by Nanking's superior numbers and armament. Various Soviet centers were established in the interior of the country by the end of 1927, but it was not until the beginning of 1931 that the Red Army succeeded in gaining a firm foothold in Kiangsi and Fukien provinces. Chiang Kai-shek sent army after army against it, but the

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Red Army was a match for all of them. At the end of 1934, the Communists decided to move their main forces from the central provinces to the northwest in Shensi and Kansu. After a "great trek" of 8000 miles over mountains, parched plains, and almost impassable rivers, always fighting against odds, the Red Army entrenched itself in its new territory by the beginning of 1936.

MEANWHILE, in the summer of 1935, the Chinese Communist Party announced that the old program of fighting Nanking was altogether inadequate to meet the existing situation. Japan had by this time succeeded in outdistancing all of its imperialist competitors in the Far East with such effect that the liberation of China from imperialist rule was no longer one of opposition to imperialism in general but, rather, concrete opposition to Japanese imperialism. For the time being, the sharp antagonisms among imperialist powers could be utilized to greater advantage than ever before to further the Chinese unification and liberation movement.

Above all, the necessary condition for breaking the Japanese strangle-hold on north China was the internal unification of the country. No matter what the cause, civil war between Chinese groups played into the hands of the Japanese. The Red Army was certainly not strong enough to cope with both Tokyo and Nanking at once. And victories by Chinese over Chinese were Pyrrhic in respect to Japan.

"Turn your guns outward," the Communists pleaded. Despite the past of even Chiang Kai-shek and Nanking, the Communists were far from putting them in the same category with the Japanese invaders. Any weakening of the authority of the central government, especially in the last two years, has always accrued to the gain of Tokyo. So the Communists proposed a united national front against Japanese imperialism, a united front between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, an all-China, anti-Japanese army and an all-China government of national defense composed of representatives of all parties in the anti-Japanese front.

Substantially this program has already been adopted by all progressive tendencies in China to the marked displeasure of the Japanese military clique and their satellites. The successful resistance in Suiyuan is in large measure attributable to the extent to which this program of national salvation has been accepted by the broad masses as well as influential individuals even within the Kuomintang. There is tremendous ferment and organized anti-Japanese activity among the students of China on the basis of this program. Even Chiang Kai-shek, at least in words, has retreated from his former intransigence. For the past few months, Chiang has uttered anti-Japanese declarations which he never permitted himself to state openly before. He sent reinforcements to Suiyuan. He opened negotiations with Japanese Ambassador Shigeru Kawagoe on the elaborate program for further penetration in China presented by Prime Minister Koki Hirota and gave Kawagoe little satisfaction. The negotiations dragged on between Kawagoe and Foreign Minister Chang Chun, but Nanking was reported as countering with stiffer anti-Japanese demands than ever before, until finally Kawagoe lost face and returned to Tokyo with nothing accomplished. There is no telling how far Chiang intended to go, because in the midst of his brave speeches he cracked down on the National Salvation movement and arrested a number of extremely prominent Kuomintang members because they issued a manifesto in support of the anti-Japanese united front.

Old-Fashioned Christmas — John Mackey

ONE thing is certain, however: irrespective of Chiang's motives or consistency, the unification of China reached a stage which threatened Japan's whole program of conquest.

In the northwest, the Communists have had to do little fighting because so many of Chang Hsueh-liang's forces have adopted their program and refuse to fight their Communist comrades. It is a matter of record that the Communist movement in China has never been as strong as it is today. The dramatic encounters of the Red Army have ceased, but its penetrating influence has increased immeasurably. Edgar Snow, Chinese correspondent for the London *Daily Herald* and the New York *Sun*, recently finished a four-month stay in the Soviet districts in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia, interviewed many of the leading Communist chiefs, including Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Central Soviet government. He reported that there are not less than 100,000 men, "modernly armed with latest types of rifles, automatic rifles, machine guns, trench mortars and artillery—all of which appeared to be captured from enemy troops," and about 50,000 additional armed partisan troops. "I have visited many Chinese armies in my seven years in China," Snow wrote in a recent letter to the *China Weekly Review*, "but I have not seen one in which the fighting spirit, political education, literacy, patriotism, and morale tone were at such a high level."

The Japanese were well aware of this upsurge of popular support for the Commu policy of united national front against tl imperialism as well as of the decided incre in the strength of the Red Army and the S regions in the northwest. Fomenting di sension and civil war in China is their answer to this development. If it is not of their making, they exploit it; but they are not beyond manufacturing its threat, even under cover of the anti-Japanese struggle itself, if need be.

There is little hazard in stating that when the whole story of the kidnaping finally emerges, if it ever does, Japanese imperialism will be implicated at every point.

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Mr. Sullivan's "Racket"

That current book on labor-union corruption raises some questions which are regarded differently by this author and Remington Rand

By Rhoda Holmes

"CRYING NAT" SHAW has a new job. The pay is good, the hours are easy, and he meets the very best people. Big bronze doors are open to him, and important executives sometimes shake hands with him before they sign on the dotted line. "Crying Nat" is selling *This Labor Union Racket,* by Edward Dean Sullivan, and he likes it as well as breaking strikes for his old friend, Pearl I. Bergoff.

Mr. Sullivan's book has other distinguished vendors, too. Alex L. Hillman, president of Hillman-Curl, Inc., who published it, has taken a personal interest in the sales campaign. A few weeks ago he boarded a westbound plane to supervise General Motors' purchase of several hundred copies. Pontiac Motors' plant foremen needed at least a hundred to distribute to their employees, and Mr. Hillman wanted to be sure that they got there.

The energetic publisher hasn't moved in such distinguished circles in some time, for as chief shareholder in William Godwin, Inc., a great deal of his attention has been taken up with defending himself in court against charges of sponsoring the kind of literature which is sold under the counter in the less reputable bookstores. *The Man in the Monkey Suit,* for instance, cost him a $200 fine, and *Wanda* had to sell briskly to make up for the $500 penalty it drew. Fortunately, *The Doctor's Wife* got away with a suspended sentence, and *Flesh and Other Stories,* privately printed several years before, escaped with a stern warning.

The mailing list for *This Labor Union Racket* is Mr. Hillman's pride and joy. The Chicago Motor Bus Co., whose company union is praised so highly in the book, was flattered to the extent of an order. Hotchkiss Arms, up in Connecticut, thought its employees needed educational advantages in their leisure hours, and Lukens Steel, in Coatesville, Pa., thriftily took advantage of the bargain rates offered for large orders. A storekeeper in Kohler, Wis., enjoyed a burst of prosperity when the plumbing company executives saw the nice things Mr. Sullivan had said about them.

Best of all, Remington Rand, busy with what Mr. Hillman calls "unfortunate labor trouble," became worried about racketeering in unions. Possibly on the recommendation of "Crying Nat," who was busy in Hartford, Conn., persuading the Remington Rand strikers there to go back to work, the company ordered 1500 copies. Mr. Hillman was so proud of that he mounted the stand in the National Labor Relations Board industrial espionage hearing last month to tell the public all about it.

This success is not surprising, though, considering all the trouble Mr. Hillman went to before the book came out. Impressive circulars, warning America in two-inch red letters to awake to its peril, were sent to prospective customers. Book-sellers were notified that "the special market for this book is being exploited." Executives learned from the pages of the New York *Times* that they owed it to themselves and their businesses to read it.

And finally, *Barron's Weekly,* the *Wall Street Journal,* the San Francisco *Wall Street Journal,* the Chicago *Journal of Commerce,* and the Hearst papers all gave it wonderful reviews. As a matter of fact, "Crying Nat's" job is a cinch.

Mr. Sullivan is feeling pretty set up about the whole thing, too. An ex-Hearst newspaperman who specializes in exposés, he may have been pardoned a little nervousness about the reception his latest opus would get. Indeed, his old publisher, Vanguard Press, after considering the idea of presenting the book, finally turned it down.

Mr. Sullivan himself had dropped words of praise for rank-and-file union members in his *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime.* Possibly a right-about-face would be unstrategic; or even worse, unprofitable. Naturally he rejoiced with his publisher when the book went into its second printing two weeks after its appearance.

The ointment was not wholly clear, of course. One large fly was Louis Adamic, who had done considerable exposing of union conditions himself. Up rose Mr. Adamic to denounce *This Labor Union Racket* as a "superficial, ill-thought-out, xenophobe book, concocted around Hearst and Chicago *Tribune* headlines, conceived with the ambition of cashing in on the current anti-Red, anti-alien hysteria."

Scott Johnston

A good many other critics said things about anti-union propaganda, ignorance of historical forces, blatant forms of Red-baiting, inconsistencies, inaccuracies. All in all, it was a good thing that so few executives bother to read book reviews.

One of the best ways to figure out the relative merits of Louis Adamic and James Rand, Jr., as judges of literature, is to read *This Labor Union Racket.* What is it all about?

It is a very interesting book. In crisp newspaper sentences, Mr. Sullivan digs again and again into the dirty past and present of the American labor scene. Facts? He has plenty of them, a hundred sordid stories of gangster-ridden unions, of graft, of terrorism against bosses and workers alike. Names and dates, court records, colorful descriptions of organized crime in action. Fascinating stuff, like dynamite.

And the danger of this book lies in the fact that to a hasty, an uninformed, a prejudiced reader, it looks as if racketeering has eaten so thoroughly into the structure of labor unions that they themselves are rotten. After all, the quickest way to fix a wall half-destroyed by termites is to build a new wall, you argue —or Mr. Sullivan does.

And that is just what he does. The new wall, of course, would be composed of large company-union bricks, fired in reliable furnaces. The big happy family of the Chicago Motor Bus Co., the merry villagers of Kohler, Wis., the contented population of Weirton, Pa., all have Mr. Sullivan as spokesman.

Organized labor is the helpless prey of all the worst forces in the underworld, says Mr. Sullivan. It has fought a losing battle since Prohibition brought the gangsters in. Its leaders are crooked, and either work through hired thugs or do their dirty work themselves. The employers suffer, the workers suffer, the situation is hopeless. And that is why Mr. Rand likes the book.

What about Mr. Adamic? He knows himself that a great many of Mr. Sullivan's stories are true. He spent two chapters in *Dynamite* deploring that very thing. Yet he took a page and a half of the *Saturday Review of Literature* to call Mr. Sullivan almost every printable name. Is it just professional jealousy?

No, Mr. Adamic happens to know that *This Labor Union Racket* has page after page of misstatements, of confusing generalities, of downright untruths. He knows that Mr. Sullivan has ignorantly or intentionally distorted the picture he presents. He knows that

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even if he overlooks all the half-truths, the incorrect figures, the hazy references, and accepts Sullivan's charges at their face value, it is impossible to arrive at the conclusions Sullivan draws or fails to draw, at the remedies he proffers.

For first of all, Mr. Sullivan flagrantly ignores the basic and obvious causes underlying the situation. And then, after dealing at length with abuses in craft unions all over the country, he switches violently to an attack on the forces most active in fighting the conditions he is so alarmed about.

In two amazing chapters, John L. Lewis is exposed as an opportunist with radical leanings, and the thunderings of a Communist upheaval are heard. Mr. Sullivan points a finger trembling with horror and irrelevancy to twelve known Communist schools and four "subversive" periodicals. To him more dangerous by far than the sickness of labor unions are the remedies of industrial unionism and rank-and-file leadership.

If you really want to know whether Mr. Rand or Mr. Adamic is right, perhaps a glimpse at a few important unions will help you make up your mind.

Before you start, please get this well in mind. Mr. Sullivan is right, disturbingly right, when he says that labor unions are often characterized by racketeering and gangsterism. He is wrong when he tries to figure out why, or what is to be done about it.

Most unions conform amazingly to a pattern as far as racketeering is concerned. A cross-section will show a similarity in conditions all the way up, the differences being a matter of degree or stage of progress. Look at the painters, the retail salesclerks, the fur workers, the seamen, the taxi-drivers in New York City. Five more divergent occupations could hardly be found, but the story is the same in all of them.

In the first place, all of these unions are saddled with reactionary parent bodies. In the case of the first four, this body is the international union. In the case of the taxi-drivers, it is the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, since it is a federal union, directly responsible to the A.F. of L. Executive Council. In most instances, the officials have maintained themselves in power by pretext and subterfuge or downright force. The whole setup is autocratic, and democracy is possible only through rebellion.

But reaction alone doesn't explain conditions. Where does the racketeering come in? The story is old, but always the same. The employer hires gangsters, first to protect himself by illegal violence against legal trade-union action, and second, to protect himself by illegal violence against the business competition characteristic of capitalist enterprise.

And then the trouble begins in earnest. For the new partner in crime begins to take large chunks out of the hand that feeds him. Even a gorilla has brains, and after a while the hired gangsters begin to form "protective associations" of employers. Then the mistaken psychology of old-line union leaders results in their "fighting fire with fire," and *they* hire gangsters. Presently both employers and unions are two ends working for the middle.

Mr. Sullivan has neglected to figure out the causes for Lepke and Gurrah and the "Wops" and "Dopes" and "Slugs" who follow in their train. And he doesn't seem to care about what is being done about them.

In any of these five unions, he wouldn't have to look far if he really wanted to know. The gangsters will stay on until doomsday if the employers or corrupt officials are to clear them out. The fight is led by the rank and file and their progressive leaders, a fact which Mr. Sullivan doesn't seem to have run across in getting material for his book. Racketeering may be an ugly word, but to him, "progressives" sound dangerously like "Communists."

Mr. Sullivan dwells at some length on the troubles of Brooklyn Local No. 18 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, & Paperhangers. With great relish he rolls out the names of "Jeke the Bum," Wellner, Oscar Amberg, and other excitingly notorious characters. He paints a horrendous and unfortunately accurate picture of terrorism of employers and workers, and leaves trade unionism with two large black eyes.

A trip back across Brooklyn Bridge might have made him wonder if company unions were the only solution. The offices of Local No. 9, to which Manhattan and Queens painters belong, are a fine object lesson.

Led by the militant Louis Weinstock, rank-and-file painters for years have fought bitterly to break the racketeers' stranglehold. Forced to accept cuts in the prevailing wage to get jobs, compelled to pay tribute to keep them, intimidated and beaten at a sign of protest in meetings, they finally broke the bonds.

First they got rid of Phil Zausner, the secretary-treasurer suspected of keeping $70 out of every $75 initiation fee in his own pocket. Mr. Zausner resigned when this was brought to his attention.

Then, after a "regular" election had been declared irregular by an impartial board consisting of the American Civil Liberties Union, Prof. Paul Brissenden of Columbia University, Jonathan Eddy of the American Newspaper Guild, and W. P. Mangold, labor editor of the *New Republic,* the rank-and-filers took matters in their own hands.

An election held in the 71st Regiment Armory, where the presence of militia discouraged manipulation of voting machines, so outraged the international that it revoked the charter. Judge Miller of the State Supreme Court returned it to them.

Today the painters have Louis Weinstock for secretary-treasurer, fair working conditions, and 14,000 members.

In Brooklyn, where every effort of Sam Freeman, the progressive secretary-treasurer, is combated from above, the membership is 2800.

The taxi-drivers are in a different stage of the same game. There is a sturdy rank-and-file group bent on reform which would drive out Jerry the Lug and Matty Brown, petty gangsters who work through their henchman in the union, Sam Smith. They would oust Ben Canizarro and Izzy Bader, officials who ignore anything which looks unpleasant. But their battle is fought uphill.

Sam Orner, one-time president of the independent union which antedated the present A.F. of L. affiliate, spent some time in the hospital nursing a skull fractured as a result of his leadership of the progressive element.

Originally, before the two strikes of 1934, the independent union had more than 15,000 paid members on its books. Racketeers began to creep in after the strike was settled, and

M. Goldsholl

The People Vote, 1936

Who now runs America

The writers or the readers of newspapers
The broadcasters or the radio-receivers
The committees for the nation or the nation

They who made up our minds for us
Held the herring to our noses
Viewed our future with their alarm

We open our throats and they disappear
Under the horizon of today's history
And we laugh in the street and blow a horn

Who now runs America

They do

We vote but they still count

One day in four years we run America
One day we will run America forever

ROBERT GESSNER.

★ ★ ★

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a movement to gid rid of Orner for his "radical activities" split the union in two.

The present A.F. of L. group was formed in 1935, and while they have since merged with the insurgents, membership today actually totals less than 300.

Hack-stand gossip has it that the companies pay well to insure against organization, but whatever the case, New York's 55,000 cab drivers are skeptical of unionism. They will probably change their minds if the rank and file wins out.

The retail salesclerks' union is a good example of the difficulty any sort of a progressive movement has against the stone wall of old-line officials. Time after time the various New York locals have hurled themselves at the united front of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association and the Retail Clothing Merchants Association. Their gains are slow ones.

In two locals, the clerks are subjected to the personal domination of one Hyman Nemser, attorney with a checkered past as an organizer for Amalgamated Clothing Workers before he was fired for dual unionism, and of his brother-in-law and teammate of the Amalgamated days, Henry Silverman, who controls the merchants' association so well that it is known as the Silverman Association.

Both men were connected with Locals 107 and 717 before these groups were expelled from the international for coercion and fraudulent practices. Silverman and Nemser, along with Nat Levine, and other officials of 107, were indicted for extortion.

Although a directed verdict of not guilty ended the trial of these two defendants of labor, the international stipulated that Nemser was to remain out of the labor movement for good. After a complicated period of maneuvering, he is back as attorney for one local, is about to be retained by another, and is active in the affairs of the third.

The retail clerks have had even more direct trouble with their international. Although no convention has been held for seventeen years, an unofficial conference to denounce "Reds" was held last spring, when the progressives began to look like an important factor. Into the field came Samuel H. Riven, international officer, to clean up.

Since then, Local 1006 has fought a pitched battle for democracy, Local 861, because of its "radical" leadership, has been merged with Local 906, progressives in Local 1125 are systematically intimidated at meetings. Mr. Rivin personally supervised the signing of a contract by Local 1111 which took away closed-shop privileges. From Tampa he tried to stop the recent Schulte Cigar Store strike against a contract of Local 906 for which he was himself responsible. The men went ahead in spite of him and won the fight.

The inspired battle of the workers to drive gangsters Lepke and Gurrah out of the fur industry is one of the most important in the annals of labor history.

Learning the bitter lesson of betrayal at the hands of their former union officials, who turned the gangsters' guns on them in the violent wars before 1925, and cursed by a revival of anti-union gangsterism from 1927 to 1935, the fur workers understand the value of rank-and-file leadership better than their brothers in any other industry.

From the time of the left-wing movement in 1925 through the great strike of 1936, the Red-baiting campaign of 1927-29, and the internecine strife of the years of the Needle Trades' Workers Industrial Union, the rank and file followed Ben Gold and Irving Potash to victory. Last month they saw the two gangsters most active against them convicted by the testimony of their own officials.

Still in the process of their drive for control of their unions, Mr. Sullivan should notice, the seamen are achieving their victory without benefit of their local leaders, the international, or the A.F. of L.

The men have had to wage their fight against every possible obstacle in the three autocratic unions of their international, in their struggle for control and fair working conditions. Vicious constitutions perpetuated scandalous regimes like David E. Grange's, and an international as infamous as the local leadership gave them no recourse. The A.F. of L. paused long enough in its blind fight against the C.I.O. to denounce them. Their own officials sent in notorious Railway Audit & Inspection Co. gorillas to break their strike.

But the seamen are winning. They are getting what they want and they are getting it themselves, without benefit of Mr. Sullivan's company unions.

Maybe Mr. Sullivan had better write another book.

Deserted Farm

Lithograph by Arnold Blanch

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HOW HIGH WILL HE BOUNCE?

Jacob Burck

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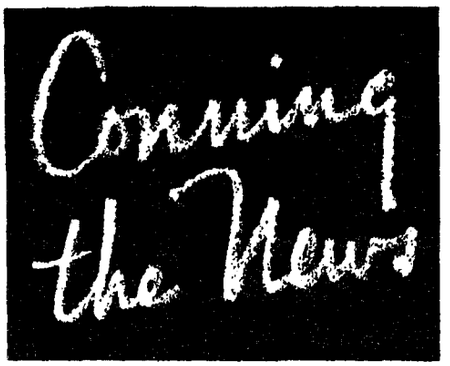

Covering the events of the week ending December 21

BACK at his desk after a twenty-eight-day cruise, President Roosevelt turned from his good neighbors south of the equator and got down to the problems of his more immediate neighbors. In and out of the White House ran a steady stream of visitors. Plans were evolved for a "simple but colorful" inauguration on January 20; consultations were held on the message to Congress and the inaugural address; and possible appointees appeared for secretive discussions, among them Paul V. McNutt, who as governor of Indiana crushed strikes by imposing martial law on whole counties for months at a stretch. Rumors revived concerning a place for McNutt in the cabinet.

For the most part, the White House conferences revolved about the president's program for the session of Congress that convenes January 5. Administration plans on such vital matters as housing, farm aid, further business regulation, and improvements in the Social Security Act, could not be learned, but what was revealed was not encouraging to those who hope for a progressive trend. Prospects were held out for a balanced budget, but at the same time it was stated that no increased taxes would be asked. This combination pointed clearly to drastic relief cuts, and if there was any doubt on this score it was dissolved by a subsequent statement from the President. He planned to ask Congress, he said, for a deficiency appropriation of only $500,000,000, instead of the $750,000,000 asked by the United States Conference of Mayors. Should he have his way, relief appropriations for the next six months will have to be cut fully one-third, from $1,500,000 a month to $1,000,000.

Other presidential plans called for a continuation of the lending powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which has been profitably used by some of the largest business interests; continuation of the stabilization fund through which the President is empowered to devalue the dollar; a softening of the tax on undistributed corporate profits; and a permanent status for the C.C.C.

WHILE the President said nothing of farm-tenancy legislation, his Secretary of Agriculture revealed a farm program conceding even more to the Right than the administration's relief policy. In his annual report, Secretary Wallace, still committed to the principle of scarcity, strongly urged crop control to prevent surpluses which might come with "a return to normal weather conditions." Soil conservation, far from being a substitute for such control, he said, would in the long run make for a still greater farm surplus by enriching the soil. As for farm tenants, Wallace admitted that their number had increased to alarming proportions, but he was opposed to even so modest a plan as the Tugwell program, which called for $50,000,000 a year to aid tenants to become farm owners. "To an unusual degree," said Wallace in an address before the President's Conference on Farm Tenancy, "the whole problem is a human problem, and there are many tenants who have never demonstrated either desire or capacity to attempt ownership." According to news dispatches, "It was the consensus of the meeting that no blanket approach should be made to the national problem and that tenancy should not be regarded as undesirable, *per se*."

WHETHER or not the administration actually sets out on the road to the Right which it appears to be scanning so eagerly, American workers during the week gave tremendously increased indications that they would trust primarily to their own organized strength to guarantee their welfare. From the Labor Department came toned-down figures revealing that strikes now in progress involve 60,737 workers, but the Washington officials, choosing to regard the East and Gulf Coast maritime strike an outlaw affair, failed to include its 20,000 strikers in the total.

Hardest hit of the country's industrialists were the automobile manufacturers, faced with a dwindling supply of auto parts. The sit-down strike of 5000 Kelsey-Hayes wheel makers spread to Canada, when 200 workers of the Windsor, Ont., branch of the company joined in protesting discrimination against the plant's union workers. Production at Ford and General Motors plants was drastically curtailed by the strikes in the wheel companies and by the highly effective strikes in the country's major flat-glass plants. The glass supply that feeds the automotive industry was almost completely shut off with the walk-out of nearly 7000 men from the three plants of the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co. at Toledo, O., Charleston, W. Va., and Shreveport, La. About the same number of workers of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. have been out since October.

A more direct headache for the automotive industry, which has been enjoying a constantly swelling production without yielding any gains to its workers, came with an announcement by John L. Lewis that the C.I.O. planned an intensive campagin to organize the workers of General Motors. "Fairly satisfactory" relations, said Lewis, existed between the union and the Chrysler Motors Corp., but "the reverse is true in the case of General Motors." While the auto workers' union hoped "there won't be any necessity for a General Motors strike," according to Lewis, he added pointedly, "The attitude of General Motors is antagonistic. . . . Collective bargaining is now the law of the land and we think General Motors should now do a little collective bargaining."

Perhaps even more significant than Lewis's challenge to General Motors was the C.I.O. blast against its greatest foe, the steel industry. Meeting in Pittsburgh, 250 representatives of steel company unions rebelled against the company-union principle and joined hands with the C.I.O. forces. Philip M. Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, disavowed the aim of a strike in the $5,000,000,000 steel empire, but warned that "if the industry continues to employ its dog-in-the-manger attitude and refuses to deal with a trade union, the results must necessarily rest on the doorsteps of management." Branding the company union "a device of the management," the delegates favored a national industrial organization for all steel workers and pledged themselves to "go back to our respective mills and actively engage in enrolling members into the organizing drive."

Crowning the labor week was the smashing defeat dealt out to Joseph P. Ryan, reactionary leader of the International Longshoremen's Association. Harry Bridges, militant leader of the Pacific Coast maritime strike, arrived in New York early in the week to make a personal appeal to Ryan for official support in the East Coast strike. Ryan flatly refused, and proceeded to brand Bridges and the entire Maritime Federation of the Pacific as "Communist controlled." That same evening 16,000 workers flocked to New York's Madison Square Garden to give Bridges a thunderous vote of confidence, and to offer united support in the effort to build a National Maritime Federation.

Resolved to prevent his organization from aiding the East Coast strike, Ryan dashed down to Baltimore on word that his longshoremen were joining the strikers. Ryan attempted to address the longshoremen, but he found there were two meetings in Baltimore—one that he had called and the other of striking longshoremen. The Ryan meeting place was all but abandoned; several thousand packed the strikers' gathering. But even the few that came to hear Ryan were disappointed when the strikers swooped down and barred the meeting. Ryan complained to the police, but he was told by an officer that the temper of the crowd was such that he would do better to "get out of town." Ryan got out. His humiliating departure made certain the almost complete paralysis of the Baltimore waterfront, and it left Ryan a repudiated leader.

BY way of a Christmas present, the United States Supreme Court presented the New Deal with its first significant award of the season. In broad terms it voted to uphold President Roosevelt's neutrality program in a decision directed against manufacturers accused of shipping arms and airplanes to belligerents of the Chaco War despite the executive ban.

Particular importance was attached to th

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Court's decision because of the attempts made at the Inter-American Peace Conference, still in session, to safeguard neutrality this side of the Atlantic. Although the delegates at Buenos Aires approved a treaty coördinating existing inter-American pacts and providing for neutrality measures, the latter were considerably weakened by the Argentine delegation. Through its insistence, neutrality provisions were converted from an obligatory to a suggested procedure.

With the impassioned defense of democratic government that Roosevelt delivered at Buenos Aires still reëchoing, a crisis arose in Cuba that may test the sincerity of the President's words. Pitted against each other in the island republic were Col. Fulgencio Batista, military dictator, and Miguel Mariano Gomez, civilian president. The issue was a sugar-tax bill to provide revenues for rural schools under the complete supervision of Batista's army men. While the tax measure, condemned by Gomez as fascist in tendency, precipitated the open clash, the underlying conflict was seen in Batista's determination to make the military dominant in administrative, social, and political matters. "There isn't room for both of us," declared the fascist-minded colonel; "one must go." Thereupon he proceeded with plans for the impeachment of Gomez, which was promptly voted by a submissive House of Representatives. Conviction by the Senate was regarded as certain.

Decisive in the course of events was the attitude of United States Ambassador Jefferson Caffery. In a statement to the press, Caffery denied siding with the civil authority—a denial that was highly credible, since Batista has been virtually a protégé of the American embassy in Cuba under both Caffery and his predecessor, Sumner Welles, who looked to army rule to insure the type of domestic tranquillity desired in Cuba by American sugar interests. It was felt that Secretary of State Hull, on the other hand, would prefer an at least outwardly constitutional regime to the undisguised military rule of Batista. For the sake of maintaining calm during the coming sugar-harvest season, however, it seemed likely that even those Washington circles which might have opposed Cuban fascism would offer no opposition to Batista.

THE most immediate menace of international war veered away from western China as quickly as it had touched there, and returned to feverish Spain, where the week's crisis arose over the disappearance of the Soviet vessel *Komsomol*. A British freighter reported that the ship was seen afire some 300 miles east of Gibraltar, and that an insurgent warship stood by. The fate of the crew was not learned. Soviet indignation reached such a pitch that Great Britain, fearing an immediate outbreak, consented to lend every aid in determining the circumstances of the ship's disappearance. It was considered possible that the U.S.S.R., which regarded the incident as one of the gravest developments in the Spanish conflict, would insist on declaring the insurgent ships to be a pirate fleet, to be sunk on sight by the vessels of any nation. Should the Soviet take such action unilaterally, her vessels would be almost bound to clash with Italian or German boats protecting the rebels.

Lester Polakov

John L. Lewis——Warned General Motors

Even before the *Komsomol's* fate provoked a dangerous situation, circumstances compelled Great Britain to deal out a sharp rebuke to Nazi Germany for the insolent transporting of thousands of armed regulars into Spain. Twice in three days Anthony Eden called Joachim von Ribbentrop, Berlin's ambassador, to the British foreign office to convey to the Fuehrer a sign of Britain's displeasure. Eden cited disclosures by a Manchester *Guardian* correspondent naming the military units to which Nazi troops in Spain had belonged, describing the arrangements made for transporting them back to Germany when they were wounded, and specifying the sections of the German army from which additional reinforcements for Franco would most likely be drawn. Newspaper accounts referred to by Eden described the disembarking of 6500 German regular troops at Cadiz and other rebel ports, which swelled the estimated total of Nazi soldiers fighting the Spanish government to somewhere between twelve and fifteen thousand.

Commentators were inclined to attribute Eden's protest not only to a desire to prevent fascist intervention from becoming so flagrant as to kill the fiction of neutrality, but also to an expected Anglo-Italian understanding. This agreement, it was said, would be based on mutual assurances that the status quo in the Mediterranean would be respected and that de facto recognition of Italy's Ethiopian conquest would be made implicit if not openly mentioned. There was reason to believe not only that Italy was anxious to ease the strain in its relations with Britain, but that it viewed with no sense of security the establishment of formidable German army units so close to the Mediterranean route which it covets.

While the Madrid front remained comparatively quiet, important political developments occurred in Catalonia. A governmental crisis was precipitated in that semi-autonomous province when the coalition of leftist parties headed by Jose Taradellas tendered its resignation to President Companys after trying in vain to overcome the obstructionist attitude of some of its member groups—particularly the P.O.U.M., headed by Andres Nin, formerly a close collaborator of Leon Trotsky. The U.G.T., powerful Socialist trade union, declined to participate in a cabinet in which the P.O.U.M. was represented, charging the latter with "working in a manner which causes discord." C.G.T., the Syndicalist trade-union body, though it had on previous occasions supported the Nin group, finally agreed to the exclusion of the P.O.U.M., and a new cabinet was formed under Taradellas, composed of representatives of the C.G.T., the U.G.T., the Catalonian Left Republicans, and the Agrarian Party, with plenary powers granted and a pledge of discipline from all parties.

WHILE Germany continued on its hazardous course in Spain, feverish developments occurred in the economy of the Third Reich. Three hundred business men and industrialists were summoned to Berlin to receive from Adolf himself their instructions concerning the Four Year Plan. Since all who attended faced arrest for "treason" should they divulge what took place at the meeting, Hitler's demands remained secret. But the day after the conference, Germans were advised that a ration system was being introduced for butter, oleomargarine, and lard. All who registered for rations were entitled to buy 80 percent as much fat as they had bought during October, with the likelihood that the percentage would soon be cut further. Harried housewives were ordered to limit their purchase of fats to one store to help checking.

In the Far Eastern crisis, involving the unity of China and its capacity for defense against Japan (see page 3), attention was centered mainly on the personal fate of Chiang Kai-shek. As Finance Minister Soong left Nanking on what government officials insisted was an "unofficial journey to negotiate for Chiang's release," evidence grew that Marshal Chang's anti-Japanese clamor was wholly spurious. From a New York *Times* correspondent came the cable: "the conviction is growing here that questions of money and personal security will play a larger part in any settlement . . . than such matters of policy as government reorganization, war against Japan, or coöperation with Communists."

It became clearer also that Japan had everything to gain from the episode. Though Tokyo continued to fulminate against the "Communist portent" of the Shensi events, it was evident that Marshal Chang's act was a boon to the Hirota cabinet, which was on the point of falling because of the unfavorable reactions to its anti-Communist pact with Germany. Besides enabling them to point, however falsely, to the Communist menace in China, the kidnaping of Chiang gave the Japanese a welcome breach in the growing unity of China. According to a New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent in Shanghai, they were "unable to conceal their joy over the present precariousness of China's one-man government, which lately thumbed its nose at Tokyo."

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Sunrise in the Northwest

The successes of the Washington Commonwealth Federation herald a new day in political action

By Cole Stevens

THE West is famous in the East for its unorthodox and sometimes slightly "cracked" movements toward social change. Greenbackism, Populism, and more recently EPICism, Utopianism, and Townsendism, all developed in the vast area beyond the corn belt. The tradition is so strong that even a writer from the *Nation* recently visited the Northwest prepared to see nothing but "Circus Politics in Washington State." Her article was so caustic and distorted that it was quoted in Republican Party advertisements in the recent campaign.

Today, however, the hodgepodge of wishful thinking is giving way to a new sort of progressive "people's front." It resembles the Canadian Coöperative Commonwealth Federation more than it does anything in the United States. While the eyes of the nation have been focused on Labor's Nonpartisan League, the American Labor Party, and the third parties of Minnesota and Wisconsin, the almost unnoticed Washington Commonwealth Federation (W.C.F.) has been so successful in the space of one year that it is now being imitated by similar groups in Oregon, Montana, Idaho, and Utah.

The seeds of the W.C.F. were sown in 1934, when EPIC enthusiasts elected forty-four candidates to the Washington state legislature by utilizing the Democratic primaries. Failing to get their EPIC plan through the legislature, they called in some 400 other groups—unions, granges, Technocracy chapters, and others—and the Washington Commonwealth Federation was formed. The political wiseacres laughed at the queer conglomeration, and there was dissension within—but somehow the federation grew in numbers and influence. The first W.C.F. sally into politics occurred in the Seattle municipal campaign of last February, when its mayoralty candidate, Tom Smith, now King County commissioner-elect, surprised everyone by coming within 1200 votes of the nomination. The federation threw its weight against the most reactionary candidate in the finals, and with labor's added support, John F. Dore, a suddenly converted "friend of labor," was elected. Subsequent events proved the potency of left-wing pressure politics. Dore appointed a labor board that settled an auto mechanics' strike favorably to the workers, and when the *Post-Intelligencer* strike broke, the little Irishman toured the state speaking on behalf of the Newspaper Guild. At a maritime union mass meeting September 29, Seattle's mayor went on record as follows:

> Union labor wrote the most glorious page in its history when every group in its ranks rallied back of that *P.-I.* strike. It showed that workers have finally come to realize that their entire situation depends on unionism. They know now that white-collar workers are part of their movement. . . . If Hearst never comes back, this city will be ten thousand times better off. . . . If they [the shipowners] have the audacity to plunge industry and the public welfare of the coast into chaos, they won't get any more subsidies from the U. S., and they may not have any ships. . . . I am satisfied that if the ship-

Sand

Lithograph by George Biddle

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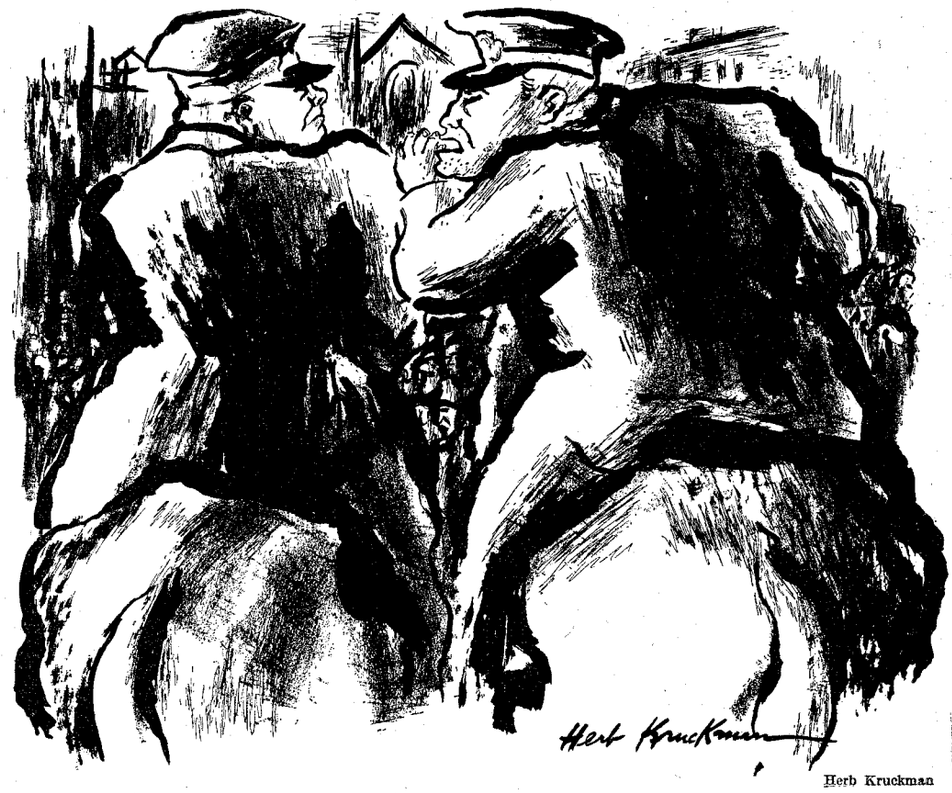
owners do this thing there will be an uprising of all people throughout the length of the coast that will cause the United States to take over the shipping industry and run it, and it will be a long day before the shipowners will get the industry back.

Labor has waxed strong in the Northwest while the W.C.F. has been growing up. Two years ago the unions of Washington were stodgy and reactionary. Then came the maritime strike of 1934, and a year later the successful longshoremen helped to sponsor the Sawmill & Timber Workers' Union. Now there are 70,000 members of the new Federation of Woodworking Industries, modeled after the Maritime Federation, and each one is repaying that old debt by contributing a dollar a month to the strike fund of the smoothly functioning maritime unions.

THE Commonwealth Federation drew wide attention last May, when rank-and-file delegates to the state Democratic convention wrote into their platform much of the W.C.F. program, including public ownership of natural resources, utilities, and munitions plants, "production for use" to make available the state's idle resources, higher old-age pensions, and a constitutional amendment to permit social legislation. This victory led to the filing of a complete W.C.F. ticket in the Democratic primaries. But the conservatives got the united-front idea, too. Republicans voted by tens of thousands for conservative Democrats in the primaries, so that part of the Commonwealth ticket was defeated.

The campaign of the reactionaries in Washington was probably more vicious than in any other state. Every W.C.F. candidate in the finals was attacked as an agent of Moscow, and all good Americans were urged to split their tickets to defeat the W.C.F. The Republican "Women of Washington" organized a mass meeting and a sunflower march on the governor's office to protest "Communist labor racketeering that threatens our homes, churches, and children." A renegade Communist was put on the radio to say that the Communist Party was supporting the W.C.F. and the entire Democratic ticket as a step toward a Soviet America. The Communist Party pointed out that it had its own candidates for President and governor, for which the W.C.F. had no indorsed candidates. "Lincoln or Lenin!" screamed the headlines. But the Red-baiters' guns backfired.

When the smoke cleared on November 3, the W.C.F. had elected thirty-five out of the thirty-six candidates who had survived the primaries. Four out of the six Democratic congressmen-elect had Commonwealth endorsements, and one, John M. Coffee of Tacoma, promised to be as militant as was Zioncheck in the days before his breakdown. An able teachers' union member, Stanley Atwood, was elected to the important post of state superintendent of public instruction, and twenty-eight federation-sponsored candidates were elected to the state legislature. The production-for-use initiative was defeated after a terrific barrage of propaganda by press and radio, but if it had passed it is doubtful whether its patchwork economics would have worked to the federation's credit.



Herb Kruckman

"All Reds is nutty. Them Soviets pinched a couple of their own cops for making false arrests."

SEASONED by these successes and failures, the year-old federation met in November for its fourth convention. The reactionaries had been predicting that it would fold up after the election, but it came back stronger than ever. The 460 delegates present, 181 of whom represented organized labor, set about overhauling the whole organization in the light of their experience. The major issue decided was the elimination of such catch-phrases as "production for use" in favor of a clear and specific program which could less easily be distorted by the opposition. The new platform included detailed proposals regarding public ownership and civil liberties, and demanded strengthening of collective-bargaining, wage, and hour legislation. It called for a mortgage moratorium and state coöps for farmers, exemption of small homes from taxation, a consumers' bureau of standards, high old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, free public medicine to all needy, nationalization of war industries and an embargo on exports to fascist aggressors, academic freedom and aid to needy students, high income and inheritance taxes, a unicameral legislature, and abolition of the Supreme Court's usurped powers.

The militant spirit of the convention was expressed in some of the resolutions adopted unanimously. The federation demanded the dismissal of the state police head and the removal of his men from strikebreaking duty in a lumber town, called for the investigation and disarming of William Dudley Pelley's armed Silvershirt camps by local authorities, and requested President Roosevelt to withhold ship subsidies until the owners should negotiate and sign agreements with the striking unions. Confidence and militancy were combined with a balanced progressive program of wide appeal. With the unanimous reëlection of the soundly radical and dynamic young executive director, Howard Costigan, the federation, if it has any success at all in pushing its program through the legislature, should easily double in size and prestige in the next few months. The final resolution of the convention unanimously adopted, gave further proof of the maturity of this people's front. It instructed the federation to take the lead in forming a Western States Commonwealth Federation, and to cooperate fully with Labor's Non-partisan League, the American Labor Party, the Minnesota and Wisconsin third parties, and similar groups in building a permanent national coalition or party of progressives.

THIS much is certain: if a national farmer-labor party or coalition is to be successful, it must have the support of the millions of progressives in the Democratic Party. Progress in this direction was exemplified by the Minnesota "people's front," in which the state Democratic candidates withdrew in favor of the Farmer-Labor Party. In Washington the Commonwealth Federation is achieving the same end by a different technique—one adapted to states where there are direct primaries and where no strong third party exists. Already the W.C.F. has set the pattern for at least four Western states.

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Writers and a People's Front

Abandoning their "individual freedom" for politics requires their seeing a real threat to that freedom

By C. Day Lewis

IN considering how writers may be drawn into the people's front, and what part they can play, there is one vital point to borne in mind: that is, the tradition of lividualism and political indifference which : English writer inherits. Partly as a re- t of the considerable measure of freedom reedom of life and freedom of expression— ch he has enjoyed for the last 150 years, ly owing to the emphasis laid by the nantic Revival on the writer as someone ove the battle," as the high priest of rites t to be shared by the vulgar, the English riter is bound by a strong belief in "artistic letachment" and personal liberty. "After all," ie says to himself, "did not Shelley call poets he 'unacknowledged legislators' of the world? That sounds good enough to me. Why con- ern myself with all this sordid business of ractical politics when I am the real legislator, ie prophet of the holy spirit of man?" Moreover, English writers do not inherit the abit of organization. We have literary iques, of course: but "schools" of literary ought, in the sense of bodies of writers osely organized for discussion and criticism id the interchange of ideas, have been un- nown in recent years. The English writer really likes to think of himself as a sort of inspired amateur; he does not, as a general rule, look upon himself as a craftsman—as a person who has a trained gift for writing just in the same way as a metal worker has professional skill at working in metal. In consequence, our writers have been slow to organize professionally, let alone politically. Organization—there is no use denying it—is still repugnant to them, because it seems to conflict with their "amateur status" and their idea of artistic liberty.

I have myself encountered this repugnance again and again. Not long ago, for instance, I supported a motion that the Society of Authors (numerically the strongest literary association in this country) should apply for affiliation to the T.U.C. At this meeting, apart from the antics of peevish buffoons such as St. John Ervine, there was a body of perfectly honest opinion firmly entrenched on the idea that any form of political association is either unnecessary or positively dangerous for the individual writer. It is a hopeful sign, from our point of view, that this opinion is much more prevalent among the older generation than the younger.

This, then, is the main obstacle to be surmounted in the effort to draw writers into a people's front. Few English authors of repute are reactionary; many, though, are indifferent—and indifferent, so to speak, on principle. Our point of approach to such authors must be the liberty of the writer. We should point out that, whereas in Germany, where writers were to a great extent politically unorganized, freedom of speech does not exist, in France—through the participation of intellectuals in the Popular Front—freedom of speech has been preserved. We must impress upon them the anti-cultural trend of fascism ("whenever I hear the word culture, I reach for my gun"), the burning of the books, the persecution of liberal writers. But it is far more important (and difficult) to convince the neutral English intellectual that this anti-cultural trend is not a mere isolated national phenomenon—not "something that could never happen in *this* country." The burning of the books was a fire that can easily leap the banks of the Rhine, and we must be prepared to repel it.

The exiled German writers are astounded by the political apathy of their English colleagues today. "Do you mean to say, after all that's happened to us, you still haven't learned your lesson?" one of them exclaimed to us recently. But it is a fact; we haven't. The first task of those who aim at drawing writers into a people's front must be to break down this indifference; to show that, if English writers are not willing to forego some of their cherished "independence," they will inevitably lose every stitch of the liberty that at present they stand up in. Democracy is everywhere threatened. If the house of democracy falls, the fire of art—so nobly fed by the great line of English writers—will be extinguished with it.

But we must go farther than that. We must point out the positive and specific advantages which participation in the united front would bring to the individual writer. He needs peace to write in: well, he must be prepared to work for that peace; and the most effective anti-war organization in which he can work is a people's front. He needs not only peace, but a wide and intelligent public. A people's front should indirectly increase the social effectiveness of writing by putting into power a progressive government which will pay greater attention to education. In the early days of capitalism, when it was a revolutionary force breaking the grip of feudal aristocracy and offering the individual at least some hope of "making good," the desire of the working classes and bourgeoisie for education was very powerful. Today, under monopoly capitalism, wide masses of the peo-

Gloucester Dock

Lithograph by John Lonergan

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ple have little incentive to "improve their minds"; they feel that it holds out no hope of a state wherein the trained mind, the sensitive imagination may have free scope for development. Today, because it is hopelessly at odds with the social order, art for the great majority must inevitably be merely an escape from the oppression of that order. There is little point—even if there were much possibility—in improving one's mind when one's mind seems to be cut off from action by adverse social conditions: small wonder, then, if many of the workers and middle classes remain contented with the cultural dregs which capitalism offers them. Under monopoly capitalism, the revolutionary worker alone has a powerful incentive to self-education.

Both the incentive to education and greater facilities for it will be provided by a progressive government. This—and an economic policy not obsessed by armament-building nor controlled by the needs of profit-makers—must lead, as it has led in Soviet Russia, to an enormous increase in the demand for books and in a raising of the cultural level of the country as a whole.

It is clearly to the advantage of writers that they should be able to wield directly a certain political influence. Organizations of authors, *as such,* with no political connections, cannot even now support adequately the interests of their members, and against fascism they would be powerless. It is generally admitted, for instance, that the present British libel law bears very hard on writers. But such associations as the Society of Authors have been unable to do more than defend their members in particular cases: whereas it is clearly desirable that the law itself should be altered. Authors would be in a very much better position to achieve this aim if they were part of an organization which could exercise more direct parliamentary power.

We have only to read the sections of the proclamation of the French Popular Front dealing with broadcasting and the press to see that in these departments too the English writer would benefit by the formation of a people's front in this country. The man who writes for his living, whether he be poet, novelist, playwright, or journalist, is a man with more immediate power to tell the truth—and more temptation not to tell it—than any other. We may fairly say, I think, that under a reactionary government, under a social system which can prolong its life only by concealing its own defects, the writer has small hope either of finding the truth or of being allowed to tell it when it is found. Morally, therefore, the writer should be bound to align himself with a political movement that at least will strive to preserve the democratic rights of free speech and at most will succeed in bringing nearer a society adequate to the cultural needs of its members.

But the writer will not join in a people's front just for what he is going to get out of it. To participate in a popular organization, he must draw nearer to the life of the people: and this is what many English writers, as a result of their tradition of artistic detachment, are unwilling to do. The social function of art, so thoroughly understood and so fully accepted by the great Greek writers of the fifth century, is rejected—tacitly or openly—by numbers of English writers today. We cannot too often or too strongly reaffirm it. This article is not the place for arguing the question. But we can safely assert that, as literature draws its nourishment from the life of the people and as its ideology is deeply affected by the social conditions of its age, so it is in the interest of the writer to establish connection with this life and to fight for conditions more favorable to his art. As a member of the people's front, he will not only be playing the most effective possible part in the struggle to defend culture; he will also be brought into contact with a diversity of men and women, a variety of opinion, aspiration, and experience which cannot fail to enrich his own work. This does not mean that he will be either a parasite on the popula organization or a mere attached corresponden of it. He will give his special powers an outlook to the movement; and he will r ceive from it the sense of community whic alone can enable him to reëstablish the soci function of his art.

What steps should be taken now? It doubtful whether we have in Britain any rev lutionary writers with the prestige of Roma Rolland and Henri Barbusse, whose appe for the anti-fascist conference at Amsterda in 1932 had such enormous effect on tl French intellectuals. But we have a section of the International Association of Writers in Defense of Culture; and there are bodies such as For Intellectual Liberty and the Civil Liberties organization, whose aims are in general agreement. I believe that more vigorous efforts should be made to win all reputable writers into the former organization; and I believe that the time is now ripe for it to approach all kindred bodies, the T.U.C., and the political parties which claim to stand for democracy, and urge the necessity of a people's front. A lead has already been given by the Communist Party in this country. Let the Association of Writers answer this lead and make a declaration of their own willingness to assist in the formation of a people's front broadly based on the principles of democratic liberty, anti-fascism, and peace. The ground must be carefully gone over. The program of a people's front must be such as to insure the maximum inclusivensss of membership; at the same time it must be definite enough to direct the policy of the organization over any given emergency. Writers can play a valuable part in the drawing-up of this program and in the publicizing of it. Let us act now, before it is too late, throwing off our parochialism and political apathy in the interest of the civilization we have helped to build and can help to save.

Aaron Sopher

"Every Christmas dinner I think of the unemployed—till I get a chance to loosen my corset."

★

Half-Heard Air

(Running through the head between slumber and waking, Fellow-Traveler's upper berth.)

Hammer and sickle must
Shape more than mouth to praise
Symbols on flags of red

And more than mind must claim
Possession of the power
The powers of darkness dread

Hammer and sickle must
Do more than fill the eye
Before the specter slays

Nor must the fist be made
Only to draw the gaze
Only to mark the song.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES.

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Student Unity at Stake

The convention of the A.S.U., opening Dec. 27, faces several important problems which are here outlined by a leader of youth

By James Wechsler

ONE year ago, 500 American students gathered in Columbus, O., to establish an American Student Union. They met in a setting which dramatically justified their purpose. For two weeks the Hearst press had carried inflammatory editorials denouncing the "alien agitators" who were starting out for the Midwest. Yielding to the outcry of the patrioteers, President Rightmire of Ohio State had suddenly banned the convention from the university. Throughout the sessions, which finally took place in the local Y.W.C.A., the American Legion and its local mouthpieces leveled steady fire at the delegates, threatening the "Y" officials with withdrawal of community funds if they refused to oust the students. Even while they were meeting, the delegates momentarily awaited word that their sessions would have to end. In freezing, sub-zero weather, they contemplated the prospect of convening on a local street-corner.

All the tumult of the flag-wavers did not curtail the convention. An American Student Union was formed. Its charter members were a vivid cross-section of the American campus, coming together because they felt the need for an organization which would express their hopes and convictions in a crisis-ridden world. At Columbus there were delegates from the old National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, who had agreed to dissolve their own groups to pave the way for even broader unification of radicals and progressives. Joining with them were scores of representatives from undergraduate liberal and progressive groups, from fraternities, clubs, student councils, and student newspapers who wanted to be a part of this first real coalition in American life: an organization uniting them with Socialists and Communists for action on the immediate issues of our time. They drafted a program whose four major headings—peace, freedom, security, and equality—symbolized the quest of awakening American students for some program which possessed present-day relevance and meaning. They were weary of an educational system which embodied evasiveness and confusion. They were seeking some voice of hope, of confidence, of awareness.

That convention was a landmark for the American student movement. It was a farewell to bohemianism, to the sterile isolation which had characterized much insurgent student activity in the past. It was a tribute to the persistence and initiative of those Communist students who had first urged unity and those Socialists who had battled for it in their own ranks. The union did not come into existence with universal blessings. The opposition of the reactionaries was anticipated. The skepticism of some liberals and radicals was the heritage of a discordant past. Nor was its progress to be as swift and miraculous as some might have hoped. The problems of growth and expansion were manifold, particularly in a student population so heterogeneous as that which exists in America. No rigid formulæ could be devised; no inflexible pattern or program could be laid down. This first year was a period of experimentation in which the mere concept of unity was on trial, in which the methods of unity were being tested.

And yet, even in so crowded and tentative a period, there were momentous achievements. The new union could summon 500,000 students to participate in the April strike against war, simultaneously organizing widespread sentiment for passage of the American Youth Act. It could wage notable campaigns in defense of academic liberty. It could stir thousands of students to support of the Spanish people. Overshadowing these more spectacular efforts, however, were the less tangible gains of influence, of prestige, of recognition as a union for American undergraduates. On scores of campuses today, the American Student Union holds a place of real eminence where its predecessors were isolated from the main currents of undergraduate life. Through such projects as campus coöperatives, revitalization of the curriculum, campaigns for education on peace, sponsorship of sex-education programs, the union has won its way into the every-day existence of the campus. These are less romantic and less glamorous accomplishments than the fiery—and often private—actions of the past. It is equally clear that this approach — a positive, live appreciation of those issues which are important to students as well as those which ought to be important —has been the key to growth. The union is successful in those areas where its efforts are genuinely related to students' interests; its frailty is found in those schools where slogan-shouting is still its exclusive role.

To record these signs of expansion in the midst of enormous difficulties which still remain, is important in the light of the national convention this week and the attempt of some groups to minimize both the strength and the potentialities of the union. We have not realized many of our hopes. At present the union's paid membership is about 10,000, with probably an equal number active in the organization but not yet fully enrolled. When one realizes that there are more than one million college students and five million high-school students in America, the scope of our task becomes clear. A large majority of these students belong in the union. The issues of peace, of post-graduate security, of resistance to fascist and semi-fascist movements are not the exclusive concern of any enlightened handful. The fact that hundreds of liberals and progressives have joined the union is merely proof that thousands more should be enlisted in it. In scores of high schools today spontaneous strikes are breaking out over such practical and immediate problems as decent lunches, school facilities. In Negro colleges throughout the South there is a reservoir of militancy and resentment that has gone untapped.

There are dozens of colleges where Student Union chapters do not exist because we have not possessed the resources to reach them. Nor can we be frightened by the "class composition" of the wealthier universities. Hundreds of students in those universities have come into the union, not because of personal economic problems, but because they are dissatisfied with the barrenness and futility of the society in which they live, because they are seeking some incentive which will give purpose to life and vitality to culture, because they recognize that in the onrush of fascism their own hopes of a decent and fruitful life are being challenged. For anyone to dismiss these students with a superior shrug is arrogant disregard of the reality of the present

Veteran Woodcut by I. Marantz

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political situation. Many of these students can be won for progressive social action. So empty and confused are the doctrines of their own leaders that they are searching for some positive, integrated plan of effort. It is capitalism's confession that it cannot bribe many of its own heirs; from their ranks are coming many talented and courageous participants in the social struggle of our day. Anyone who pretends indifference to these students, and to those of their contemporaries who have remained apathetic thus far, is merely guaranteeing their future alignment on the side of reaction.

I have emphasized this factor—the broad realm for growth which exists—because some young Socialists have expressed dissatisfaction with the union. They attribute its failures to "lack of militancy"; they appear to sigh for the days when the student movement was more select and exclusive; they blame organizational deficiencies, not upon the execution of our program and principles, but upon the nature of the organization itself. With this in mind, some of them, particularly those who have embraced Trotskyism and "pure revolution," are looking forward to the Christmas convention as a signal for louder, more thunderous shouts of socialism, for incessant debates designed to "expose the Communists" as pinks who believe in such illusions as an American People's Front, for long, programmatic struggles which will prove bewildering to anyone who has missed any chapter of the ancient theoretical conflicts.

I am not suggesting that programmatic issues have no place at the convention. There are important and genuine questions which merit free debate and discussion. What stand shall the A.S.U. take toward the emergence of a Farmer-Labor Party movement? Can its non-partisanship by sacrificed at this juncture for the effectiveness which independent political action would provide? Should the peace program of the A.S.U. be altered to urge collaboration of the United States in a program of collective security, as Communist students will advocate? Granting that the present peace program of the A.S.U. fails to take adequate cognizance of the immediate war danger, what changes are desirable?

THESE are problems which will emerge at Chicago. I do not believe that either the Communist or Socialist delegates can answer them for the convention. Resolutions passed at Chicago will have meaning only if they represent the genuine sentiment of the American student body. We have too frequently di e programs which were elaborate, precise- n meaningless to the campus. Our presc k nesses do not flow from any poin ou gram or from lack of militancy x xec that program. Certainly such mista es occurred; timidity has often been ou d tion of strategy. But the real organ it a dilemma which we face, I am convi e is the result of our inability to adjust c es to a growing movement. Those who ne to Chicago with long manifestoes and lust for endless debate will merely be confessing their own isolation. Accustomed to the privacy of their own cliques, they cannot fathom why others do not understand and applaud them. They are so devoted to the period when the student movement was identified, in the eyes of the campus, with a constant desire to "raise a stink" that they cannot see the necessity for positive, constructive activity along such lines as coöperatives, curriculum changes, extension of student self-government, peace education. They do not perceive that in the high schools our work must become related to the commonplace routine of the institution, our chapters must regard no issue as too obscure, our members must abandon the notion that collaboration with student leaders and school officials is some form of "betrayal." They refuse to admit that we have at present in the high schools only a fragment of support and that our entrance can be achieved only through patience, through coöperation with existing school groups, through participation in and preparation of peace pageants as well as peace strikes. Again, this is the distinction between a positive, dynamic movement and one which remains the property of an enlightened handful. I do not cite these as substitutes for militant anti-war and anti-fascist action; they are the essential accompaniments of them if we are to have a live, enduring movement among American students. And most important, unless our programs and plans are drafted in consultation with and the advice of those who are not convinced radicals but are eager for such specific effort, nothing that emerges at Chicago will have lasting significance. We will have merely reconvinced ourselves that socialism is a good thing, of which many of us were certain a long time ago.

FUNDAMENTALLY this is a problem of vision, of imagination, of perspective. If one conceives of the student movement as forever an "opposition" movement, designed to agitate without result, to protest without support, to argue without effectiveness, there was never any reason for an American Student Union. If one can conceive of the Student Union as an organization with literally tens of thousands of members, capable not merely of leading but of organizing, prepared not merely to fight for demands but to win them, then the main issue of our coming convention is a simple one. How can we strengthen our columns? How can we penetrate new territories? How can we become the major stream through which insurgent student thought and effort will flow?

Still Waiting After 2000 Years — Art Young

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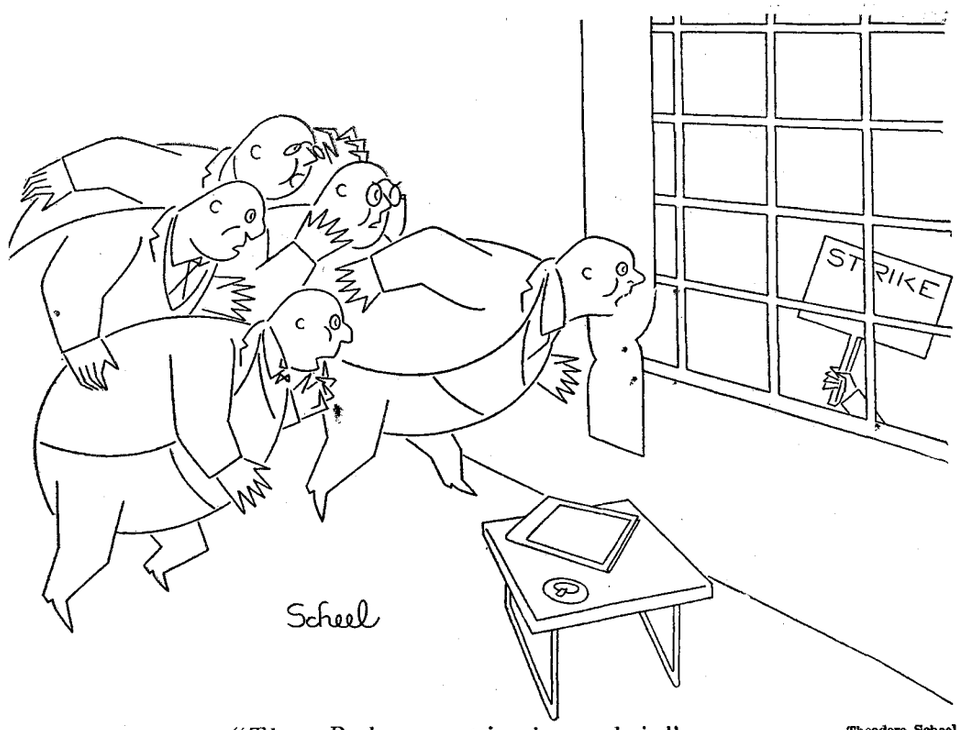
his view, in turn, is contingent upon an aisal of the present setting. It is pleasant ecome so separated from the actualities of erican life that the revolution appears im- ent and all other issues seem irrelevant leceptive. It is reassuring to proclaim that we need are small, disciplined battalions of best people. When these hallucinations ome permanent, such questions as loyalty hs, curtailment of N.Y.A., establishment broad peace councils seem remote and ial.

those who recognize that the most ent issue confronting us is not the precise m of a new social order but the maintenance those channels of communication through ich all hope of social progress may be con- ed, the problem of expansion is paramount. those who understand that, to thousands American students, complex debates over ce policy are utterly distant and the im- diate job is the mobilization of a powerful, ted movement against war and the war- kers, the emphasis of the Chicago conven- n is plain. The American Student Union s already pointed the way to thousands rywhere, revealing through its victories the importance of unity among radicals as a pre- liminary to a broader and more decisive coali- tion. Those who would disrupt this unity do so at their own risk. Those who resent or minimize this alliance will soon return to the privacy of the good old days, when a revolu- tionist could say anything he wanted to—no one was listening anyway.

I do not pose these charges as an indict- ment of all Socialists, so many of whom have contributed loyally and fearlessly to the Student Union. I do not believe that Com- munists within the union have been innocent of errors. There is, however, a real difference between mistakes within the union based upon an incorrect conception of how to increase its influence, and incessant attacks upon the pri- mary principle of the union: a common front of American students, whether liberal, pro- gressive, or revolutionary in their ultimate be- liefs. It becomes painfully obvious that Trot- skyists within the Young People's Socialist League do not endorse this principle and that others are following their lead in seeking to narrow the union. At this juncture, when the enormity of our tasks and the immediacy of issues is so obvious, such a policy appears ut- terly suicidal. Our problem, I would suggest, is not "how can we reduce our membership and purge those who lack revolutionary ar- dor." We ought to be concerned with the more alarming question: why are there still thousands of students supporting our actions and program and not yet enrolled in our ranks? I believe as passionately in socialism as do the sponsors of present-day Y.P.S.L. manifestoes. I would prefer, however, to re- main out of a concentration camp long enough to carry on the fight for socialism. The best technique for insuring the triumph of fascism, with powerful aid from the campus, is to curb our unity and to prevent its expansion, to render the Student Union merely a theoretical debating-ground and to drive away those who can be won to our side. The tragedy of this policy is accentuated by the fact that "social- ism" and the Socialist Party were once a force of real proportions on the campus. The tradi- tion of socialism, often sentimental but never- theless deeply felt, exists on many campuses; Norman Thomas was an undergraduate hero in many places four years ago. This tradition is being destroyed and undermined by the be- havior of those who have decided that they need not win the masses for the revolution and insist upon a private upheaval at once. If this advice appears gratuitous, it is never- theless given because I am primarily concerned with the welfare of the Student Union, be- cause I believe it is an experiment of profound implications for the entire radical movement and because Socialists can be instrumental in insuring its success.

THE UNION was the answer of American students to the facts of political and economic life. So long as war and poverty and reaction are rampant, its ranks will extend, deriving new strength from victories already gained. All the hysteria of reaction has failed to shake its existence. All the disgruntled murmurings of those who have overnight become redder than the rose will not alter its mission. There is no contradiction between the militancy and scope of the student movement; to see such a discrepancy is to argue that the need for such a movement is an illusion. Some have cynically referred to the Student Union as a "miniature People's Front." Such sarcasm is unintention- al flattery. If, through the Student Union, there emerge young men and women as heroic as those who today are defending peace, free- dom, and culture on the streets of Madrid, its establishment will have been vindicated. To- ward that end the Chicago convention, open- ing on December 27, can be a powerful impetus. The coming months will witness bitter struggles throughout the nation. Labor's advance will crystallize momentous battles on many fronts. Whether students will be rallied to the side of strike-breakers and Toryism or whether they will stand with the forces of decency and progress may be determined by the outcome of the Chicago meeting.



"These Reds are getting in our hair." Theodore Scheel

★

Maxim Gorky

Wheat grows tall in the earth, and a man dies,
But the long grain is gathered and the bread
Absorbed into the toughness of our bone,
Into our living flesh the kernels creeping.
A thousand years, and they will say of our sons,
Here is the wheat that grew in Gorky's time.

A man is other, he is burned or buried,
The body lost forever to the world.
And yet if he has plowed the ancient mind
With a bright edge of words, with a tongue talking,
The polished loam turned over, the fat furrow
Driven deep out of that fertile earth,
His angry ghost will haunt the broken field
And stride the world's hills with the tread of speaking.

A thousand years, and they will say of our books,
Here is the voice of Gorky, this is the man.

PAUL ENGLE.

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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★

Not by Bread Alone

MAN'S tragedy is the slowness with which he learns from experience. Fascism is old enough for us to profit from Europe's endurance under it, yet there is an appalling indifference among many Americans to its manifestations here. It is easy enough to grasp the full implications of the decree which Dr. Joseph Goebbels recently issued banning criticism. The assault upon culture is clear. To forbid criticism is to forbid thinking about art. This in the long run means that you may not think about life. Such an ordinance is necessary in Nazi Germany, where but to think is to be full of indignation and revolt. But what are we to say to the arrogant barbarism of the *Herald Tribune,* which recently published an editorial comparing American artists to New York racketeers and Budapest beggars? That organ of the reaction considers it the "essence of cheek" for artists to wish to fulfill their function, to demand work, to seek security.

There was a time when the most intelligent Americans, as the most intelligent Europeans, looked upon this country as the wasteland of art. Many of our most gifted writers and artists went into voluntary exile. The depression brought these home, made them more conscious of the society in which they live, and their role in it. This was the experience of thousands of unemployed painters, writers, dancers, musicians. The W.P.A. gave some of them a modicum of security, and that was good. The pay was small and the number of artists affected in the various creative fields was too limited, and that was bad. But for the American people the W.P.A. art projects had the wholesome effect of giving national standing to the arts. Latent as well as distinguished talent was given an opportunity to function; new audiences were awakened to the arts.

The present assault upon the art projects is thus not only one upon the economic security and the productivity of the artist, but upon an important phase of American culture. It is not going to balance the budget, as President Roosevelt imagines; it will certainly throw thousands of artists into the street and deprive large audiences whose growing interest in literature, painting, music, the theater, and the dance has been one of the encouraging signs of the times.

Organizations of artists in these five crafts are now demanding that the W.P.A. art projects be made permanent; that these be expanded to employ all unemployed artists at a living wage; and that the government establish a federal department of the arts. There is every justification for this desire to live and create, and the country should be glad to meet it; for in the long run it is the country which is most benefited by the artist's creations. The government c not hesitate to use the taxpayers' money to subsidize b ers and manufacturers who take without giving; there i reason why it should not pay artists for actual work w enriches American culture.

A Lesson in ıctics

BARRING some new twist i s e unpredictable cou of Nazi justice, Lawrenc impson will be on American vessel bound fo es ome by the time issue reaches our readers. This k- py circumstance in way stems from a spirit of mer no the breast of Ad Hitler. It has its source, rather, i ch little external pressu against the Hitler anatomy exerte omewhat belatedly, the American State Department d this pressure, turn, was motivated by even firme sure applied to reluctant American officials by irr ble liberals and r cals in the United States.

Reactionaries pooh-pooh this i rse cation of the Sir son liberation. That is natural an h. Not caring admit that their hand was forc this pretend that radical prodding was unnecessar no resumptuous, th the government had from the st olf ed for Simpso freedom. But what are the facts are

In April 1935, Lawrence Simpso by rican seaman, was seized on board his ship, the *Ma* in mn dock at Hamburg. Breaking into his locker, the police seized anti- fascist literature, arrested the sear di- nd literally dragged him off the boat while his unpro officers looked on Without the least pretense of a t np- impson was thrown into a concentration camp, and le to re for nine months

During those nine months a fe the sular inquiries were made but no diplomatic action of a nat rt was taken. Ther Simpson was transferred to Moab n's n, still without an semblance of a hearing. By this letters, telegrams, protests of all sorts streamed into t fice of Secretary of State Hull. A delegation, under th adership of Gifford Cochran, called on him and accused epartment of negligence. Hull was huffy and arrogan cused the committee of bad faith, and pointed to the hat fifteen months after Simpson's arrest a secretary o e American embassy paid a call on the German foreign e to see about a date for the trial.

But whatever he had to say save face, there is no doubt that Mr. Hull was impress y the growing volume of protest. There was further diplo atic maneuvering and when the trial date arrived, a few days later, there was no further postponement. What is more, the trial was an open one, with correspondents present. Simpson was convicted of the fantastic charge of "treason" to a government to which he owed not the slightest allegiance, but significantly he drew a sentence of three years instead of the headsman's ax. Three months later he was freed "on parole."

The Nazis surely do not regard seventeen months in concentration camps and prisons a sufficient punishment for treason. Therefore the question remains: if Hitler released Simpson with a meaningless sentence when the United States applied pressure in the fall of 1936, would he not have done the same in the spring of 1935? And by the same token, if the State Department was forced to act at the end of fifteen months, it could have been forced to act at the end of one month. The Simpson case, more than any recent development of its kind, confirms the power of mass pressure.

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READERS' FORUM

Spanish influence in America—On a proletarian composer—Still more greetings

● On November 25, the editorialist of New York *Times* made the following statement:

"It is true that Spanish colonization in South America left behind a language, many forms of public law, and an ecclesiastical organization. But the peculiar Spanish impress long since became little more than a tradition. . . .

"In literature, in the arts, and in training for the professions, French influence became much stronger than Spanish."

This editorial was intended to deny the assertions made by the Spanish Ambassador Don Fernando de los Rios, at Tampa, when he indicated the dangers surrounding us, with the establishment of a fascist Spain, under indirect control of Germany, Italy, and Japan. . . .

My answer is that the ambassador is right, and the editorialist of the New York *Times,* although partially right about the French influence, is wrong on the fundamental issue.

We might take for example, my own country, Puerto Rico, that has been thirty-eight years under the American government, ruled from Washington and from Wall Street. Spaniards own, in the capital of Puerto Rico (San Juan) about 73 percent of all business, and 51 percent of all real estate. By means of the advertising patronage they are able to control public opinion, withdrawing this patronage from any newspaper or publication that will not play up to their ideas.

In spite of the American schools and institutions, we Puerto Ricans are still unable to express ourselves in proper English. The dominant language is the Spanish in Puerto Rico. We do not have an English paper of consequence in the whole island. Eminent Puerto Ricans are forced by public opinion to go to Madrid in quest of the official approval from Spanish intellectuals, before they are recognized by their own countrymen as poets, writers, leaders of thought, or journalists. A Puerto Rican who is unable to stand before the *Ateneo de Madrid* and give a lecture, capable of inviting the approval of Madrid intellectuals, is not considered in my country as a man of great or remarkable literary abilities. The French influence over Puerto Rico, if any, results from translations made in Spain.

In almost all of the Latin American republics they have a daily paper, usually the oldest and the most important one, owned and directed by Spanish interests to expound Spanish theories and doctrines.

In conclusion I might venture to say that Spanish influence over Latin America is still predominant, not exactly because we Latin Americans prefer that influence, but due to certain processes and activities which I might explain here.

After the declaration of independence from Spain, the Latin American republics were forgotten for about 90 years by the old Mother Country, which assumed an air of superior dignity and pride. But of late the Madrid government saw the importance of Latin American trade and backing, and by means of newspapers and lecturers started to cultivate our friendship and our good will.

In Puerto Rico we used to talk only the American language in the public schools. Spanish influence, with the coöperation of those native-born intellectuals, accredited as such, or recognized by Madrid, has been able to relegate the English language to a secondary place in the public schools in such a way that it is now taught as a subject in the higher grades of the common schools. And Madrid publishes about 60 percent of all books circulated in Latin America.

A fascist Spain, I might say conclusively, is a menace to liberal and democratic America, because of this undue influence over the great portion of this continent that is still unable to read and write the English language.

M. Rios Ocaña.

Workers' School Courses

● We are certain your readers will be interested in the many new and timely courses to be offered at the Workers' School in New York during the coming term, which opens on January 4, 1937.

The curriculum of the school includes over one hundred classes and forty-one different courses, offering an opportunity for a systematic and well-rounded program of study in social, political and economic subjects.

Among the courses of special interest to New Masses readers, we might mention the courses in Marxism-Leninism, Marxian Survey of Psychology, Contemporary Literature, Literary Criticism, Science and Dialectics, Research Methods, Modern Economic Theories, Trade Unionism, Labor History, etc.

A. Markoff, *Director.*

On Jacob Schaeffer

● When, on December 6, nearly twenty thousand people came to pay their last tributes to Jacob Schaeffer in a driving rain, there was evidenced but a small expression of the admiration and love that workers throughout the world had for this proletarian composer and conductor. For Schaeffer, who was born in a worker's family on October 13, 1888, was a carpenter for many years before he was able to acquire a musical education.

With the same thoroughness and care that he must have exercised at his building trade, he devoted nearly a quarter of a century to the building of a workers' music movement among the Jewish proletarians of the United States. We have today more than thirty Freiheit Gezang Fereins in as many cities throughout the country, as a result of his wise and inspired leadership. Some twenty Freiheit mandolin orchestras play the great symphonic classics as well as the works of revolutionary composers.

At the early age of forty-eight, Schaeffer had already composed and performed numerous choral and mass songs as well as many works in the larger forms for chorus and orchestra. These were, for want of another term, called oratorios. They were large-scale experiments in a new and important form fit to express the grandeur of the proletarian movement. The composer, with his three hundred colleagues, felt that the proletarian movement needed a tremendous mass expression; one always left the concerts of the Freiheit Gezang Ferein with a feeling that within the shell of the old decaying capitalist order a new and vigorous workers' culture was being shaped.

To enumerate all the important contributions of Jacob Schaeffer in the field of Jewish folk song—his understanding of the masses, his ability to attract and hold thousands upon thousands of workers here, in the Soviet Union, in the Polish underground, and wherever workers gather—would be impossible except in an extensive article.

When his biography is written the biographer will have to quote Moissaye Olgin, who, in the name of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., said at Schaeffer's funeral services: "Comrade Shaeffer . . . is also a bridge into the future. . . . He gave us a glimpse of what creative efforts the working class will really be capable of when we achieve a new and happier life . . . in a Soviet America."

Rest in peace, Comrade Jacob Schaeffer. We will carry forward your banner inscribed with the motto: "Mit Gezang tzum Kamf!"

L. A.

Greetings on Our Twenty-Fifth Anniversary

NORMAN BEL GEDDES

Congratulations on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Masses* and to its offspring, *Liberator* and New Masses. I was a subscriber to the *Masses,* beginning with its second year, and upon my first visit to New York twenty-one years ago Max Eastman was one of the first people I met.

You have stimulated and have been the medium for some of the best writing and drawing that has been done in this country.

LOUIS B. BOUDIN

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the New Masses is a cause of genuine self-congratulation for the American labor movement. Notwithstanding its somewhat checkered career and two interruptions in publication, the New Masses, under its several names, has been a great influence for good in the American labor movement as well as in American journalism. This influence has been increasing steadily; and now, at the end of a quarter century, the New Masses is both more militant and more influential than at the beginning of its career. I sincerely hope and expect that its influence as well as its militancy will continue to grow as time goes on. world-wide, permanent, international peace.

HENRY HART

I hope the editors—and the readers—of the New Masses realize that the only periodical which people in the publishing business admit has anything resembling cultural authority is the one now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. And not only the publishers. The literary critics on the bourgeois and liberal organs know it, too. They all pull a weekly rationalization out of the hat to keep from admitting it consciously and living out the consequences. But they know—as I hope an ever-increasing number of subscribers will know—that the New Masses is the only magazine organized to report and depict life in terms the future will not repudiate.

GRACE HUTCHINS

As a Socialist during the World War I used to read the old *Masses* with appreciation. The vigorous cartoons stunned me somewhat at first, I must confess, and I nearly lost my job for having them in my room at the school where I taught.

The *Masses'* account of the Paterson 1913 strike is one of the most valuable records of that great struggle—preserved in the few libraries that have a file of the magazine. That was John Reed at his best, describing police terror in the city and conditions in the county jail.

The New Masses today is continuing that tradition of virile writing on present-day struggles—and we need all we can get. More power to its collective pen!

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

English men of letters—Surrealism and anthropology—Scrutinizing some Americans

IN a brief and disorganized and overpriced book,[1] Mr. O'Sullivan gives us his recollections of Oscar Wilde and his views on Wilde's works. Neither the recollections nor the views are especially important, though the former do serve to counteract some of the fantastic gossip about Wilde's last years. If there is anything valuable in Mr. O'Sullivan's comments, it is his reminder that Wilde was, before his trial, a popular writer. The usual conception of Wilde as the isolated æsthete is false; he had an unusual sense of what the public wanted, and he made the most of it. He was the leader of a revolt, but the ground had been thoroughly prepared by better men, and he sniped away at the bourgeoisie without much danger to himself. (Of course the bourgeoisie took a cowardly revenge, but that is another story.)

A great deal has been written about Oscar Wilde, and Mr. O'Sullivan's book fills a small space on a big shelf. Very little has been written about Cunninghame Graham—a rather amateurish biography was published a few years ago—and yet his life, if not his work, has more interest than Wilde's. The son of an old Scottish family, he was elected to Parliament in 1886 as an advanced Liberal, and immediately began a crusade for unpopular causes. When, in 1887, various Socialist meetings were broken up, he protested in Parliament and in public gatherings. He and John Burns were among the fifty men arrested in a Trafalgar Square demonstration, and he was given two months in prison. He was active for a time in Keir Hardie's Scottish Labor Party, but he withdrew from politics in 1892, and most of the remainder of his life—he died last January at the age of eighty-four—was spent adventurously in South America, Spain, and Morocco.

Cunninghame Graham was the author of twenty-five or thirty biographies, histories, and collections of short stories. He has never, I think, been widely read in this country, and Mr. Tschiffely has prepared *Rodeo* [2] with the purpose of winning for him the following that Tschiffely—in common with many critics—thinks he deserves. *Rodeo* contains nearly fifty stories and sketches, half of them dealing with South America, and the other half with Spain, Africa, and Scotland. They reflect almost all the aspects of the author's adventurous life, but there is not a word to indicate that he was for five years a member of Parliament. There is a brief sketch of his experiences in prison, but nothing to tell why he was imprisoned.

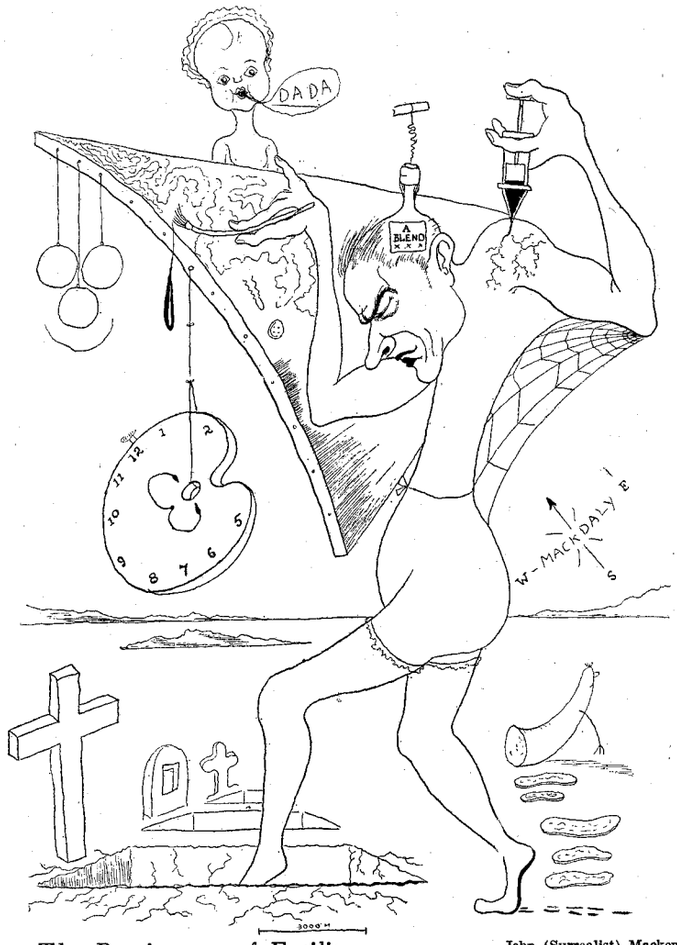
Mr. Tschiffely's selection is representative: Cunninghame Graham's political experiences left no mark on his writing. The sketches in *Rodeo* do, however, help us to understand why this Scottish gentleman was at one time a fighter for the working class. In the first place, he always had a strong sympathy for the underdog. Call it *noblesse oblige* if you will; at least it led him to get his head cracked in a London riot. In the second place, he hated the spirit of commercialism. Part of this hatred came from a contempt for all kinds of meanness; part of it was a gentleman's distaste for "trade." These two emotions appear again and again in *Rodeo,* and they help to give the volume its tone.

Nevertheless, I confess that most of Cunninghame Graham's work seems to me rather slight and distinctly marginal. His descriptions are written with precision and distinction, but he always seems to be a detached spectator. His subjects are naturally remote from us, and they seem just as remote when he has finished with them. In his philosophical discussions, which are frequent, he vacillates between an aristocratic scorn for the masses and a rather puzzled belief that most people would be all right if they had a chance. That seems to me the key to his life and his writing. Hating commercialism, he put his trust for a time in the working class, but, when there were no immediate results, he turned to the pre-capitalist life of the pampas. British literature was, I think, the loser.

Graham was born in 1852, Wilde in 1856, Chesterton in 1874, and Swinnerton in 1884. According to the usual classifications, Wilde and Graham belonged to the nineties, Chesterton was an Edwardian, and Swinnerton is a Georgian. Meaningless as such classifications are, it remains true that there are certain resemblances between Wilde and Graham, who reacted in not wholly dissimilar ways to the same phenomena, whereas Chesterton clearly belonged to the period of Wells and Shaw. Indeed, as time goes on, it seems more and more possible to define Chesterton in terms of his contemporaries: he was so determined to disagree with the Fabian-Liberal school of thought that his own thinking was very largely conditioned by theirs.

His autobiography [3] is in most ways a disappointing volume. Largely a recapitulation of ideas to which he has devoted his several score of volumes, it does not do what ideological biographies ought to do: it does not illuminate the origins of those ideas. There are some interesting accounts of his earlier years and a few amusing anecdotes of his contemporaries, but for the most part the book is just more Chesterton.

Chesterton's major literary asset was his mastery of the half-truth, which is what is meant by the Chesterton paradox. A simple example will show what I have in mind. He talks rather amusingly about those persons who want "to improve the drama." "To talk of helping 'the drama,'" he says, "sounds to me like helping the typewriter or the printing press. It seems, to my simple mind, to depend a good deal on what comes out of it." Now those who do talk about helping the drama do so, of course, because the production of plays requires an elaborate, specialized, and expensive machinery. They do not expect that the creation of this machinery will in itself result in good plays,



The Persistence of Futility — John (Surrealist) Mackey

[1] ASPECTS OF WILDE, *by Vincent O'Sullivan. Henry Holt & Co.* $2.50.

[2] RODEO, *by R. B. Cunninghame Grahame (edited by A. F. Tschiffely). Doubleday, Doran & Co.* $2.50.

[3] AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF G. K. CHESTERTON. *Sheed & Ward.* $3.

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but it is common sense to recognize that good plays are more likely to be written if there is some chance of their being produced.

Paradoxes on precisely this level are generously sprinkled throughout the book. They range from the contention that, despite the jokes about simple-minded curates, clergymen are really very intelligent persons, to the contention that socialism and imperialism are pretty much the same thing because both believe in "unification and centralization on a large scale." The juiciest exhibition, however, of Chesterton's mode of reasoning is his theory that the pacifists caused the world war. The logic runs this way: many pacifists were rich Quakers; the government has to conciliate rich men; therefore the government could not take a firm stand against Germany; therefore Germany challenged Great Britain; therefore the pacifists caused the war, Q.E.D.

It would be foolish to prolong this discussion of the Chestertonian half-truth. The best thing to be said about the *Autobiography* is that it contains almost all of Chesterton and makes the reading of his earlier books practically unnecessary. One wishes, however, that it explained why a mind as brilliant as his spent itself in futile gestures.

If Chesterton's autobiography is an extreme example of concern with ideas, Swinnerton's [4] illustrates with equal completeness the anecdotal type of autobiography. The result is that it rather closely parallels his book of literary history, *The Georgian Scene,* but is, if anything, more informative and perhaps more usefully critical. After the chapters on his boyhood and early publishing experiences, the chapter headings are little more than lists of names: Bennett, Wells, Mackenzie, Murry, Mansfield, Galsworthy, Monkhouse, Tomlinson, Maugham, Walpole, Forster, Sassoon, Huxley, and dozens of others. About each of these, Swinnerton tells anecdotes, often shrewdly revelatory, making his book valuable for anyone interested in British literature of the past thirty years.

Moreover, despite all his material about other people, it is undeniable that a pretty clear picture of Swinnerton himself emerges. He is not a first-rate novelist—he feels, I am glad to say, that *Nocturne* has been overrated—and, if I can judge from his book on Gissing and from *The Georgian Scene,* he is not a first-rate critic. But he is and always has been a man of common sense, a man who accepted the world as he found it but reserved the right of private judgment, a man who remained on good terms with everyone, but, I suspect, on intimate terms with very few. (Reviewers have commented on his extreme friendliness; a deeper truth, I believe, lies in his comment on one of his cats—"I loved him more than I have loved most human beings.") It is somehow a tribute to his integrity and essential simplicity, as well as a revelation of his limitations, that he can end his book, quite seriously and without cant, by quoting in full the ten commandments.

[4] SWINNERTON: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Doubleday, Doran & Co.* $2.75.

I. March

Swinnerton, like his much greater contemporary, Arnold Bennett, was a self-made man of letters. He had no special training for his career and perhaps, unlike Bennett, no great aptitude for it. One has no sense, as one has with Wilde and Cunninghame Graham and possibly Chesterton, that under happier circumstances he might have been a much more distinguished writer. On the contrary, he seems to belong to his period, and, on many sides, to represent it at its best. One comes to regard him with the tolerant friendliness with which he regarded most of his contemporaries, and that is presumably all he would ask.

GRANVILLE HICKS.

Shrines of Unreason

SURREALISM, *by Julien Levy. The Black Sun Press.* $3.

PARADOX is pie for Surrealists; therefore the paradox of Surrealists setting out to explain what they say cannot be explained will probably be listed as another one of their "achievements," the catalog of which, as enumerated in this volume, includes suicide, and the erection of a public urinal as entrance lobby to one of their exhibitions.

"The Surrealist point of view is essentially anti-definitive and anti-explanatory." "Surrealism is not a rational . . . theory of art." This has the arrogance of aristocrats whose defense is "How dare you question me?" and the confusion of a child who has not yet learned to distinguish between fact and fancy. Both are deliberately cultivated characteristics in Surrealist expression.

I am aware that it is dangerous to cry fascism. I am aware that Surrealists include anti-fascists, and that a number of former Surrealists, notably Louis Aragon, have become Communists. Still, to which would Surrealism most appeal as a philosophy, to communism or fascism? I am not dragging the political issue in. In the Surrealist credo *POLITICS* (in italic caps), alongside of *PLAY* and *BEHAVIOR* is claimed as a Surrealist realm. If either of the two political systems is to be called Surrealist, the fascist indisputably deserves the honor, for obviously a cultural theory which proclaims its intention to "revivify mythology" would be agreeable to societies that promote racial and national mythologies; obviously a theory that abjures the rational is welcome to societies that have a morbid dread of Marxist rationalism. It is no accident that Fascist Italy sponsors a culture of mysticism, nor that the present public of Surrealism is mainly to be found among the rich, not merely because they have the leisure and the means for fashionable distractions but because today their class, like the feudal aristocracy whom it displaced, has become historically illogical, and is on the side of unreason. These factors are more decisive than the claims of Surrealism to be interpreted as "social revolt," and the quoting from Engels and Marx, neither of whom are on the Surrealist list of great names, which include the "Marquis de Sade in Sadism," "Monk Lewis, in the beauty of evil," and "Heraclitus in dialectics."

In spite of its rejection of rationalism and "static" forms, Surrealist art has recognizable patterns of its own. The upside down, the incongruous, the perverse, the deformed, the obscene are some of the categories in which Surrealist expression falls. In its literature its chief reliance is on obscenity; and this is understandable since, until recently, literature has been so predominantly a description of fortunes or misfortunes in love. Obscenity is therefore the simplest reversal of conventional values. In the plastic arts the inventions of the Surrealists are not so fatiguing and banal as in their literature. They have moments where invention becomes imagination and rises from the sensational to the poetic. On the whole they suffer from the risk of all art depending upon surprise . . . when the surprise is over, what is left? For all Barnum's barking, the freaks are back in the sideshow.

Perhaps the frantic Surrealist search for novelties may contribute some discoveries in technique. Perhaps the Surrealists who subject themselves to hysteria may contribute fresh data in abnormal psychology. It is not impossible, but it is unlikely that these contributions will justify the immolation of so much energy and talent.

Surrealism is a reëmergence of the cult of individualism, conditioned by the intervening social changes. It repudiates art-for-art's-sake, projects a world view, avows social purpose, proclaims an interest in ideas, and, though it offends reason, assumes a scientific base in psychoanalysis. It has an advantage over Cubism and Abstractionism in that it rejects pure form and gives increasing importance to content. In this respect it is a

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return to narrative and symbolic art. Some of it (in the plastic arts more than in the literature) has the lure of puzzles, the fascination of dreams. In that, it carries a significance like the increasing use of symbolism and narrative in revolutionary art. In the ideas, however, which Surrealism chooses to develop, it identifies itself with bourgeois decadence. Its mysticism, its cultivated irrationality, its eroticism, and its violence have, it seems to me, some recognizable counterparts in the political forms of the bourgeois decadence.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Studying Culture

THE STUDY OF MAN, *by Ralph Linton. D. Appleton-Century Co. $4.*

ONE suspects that Dr. Linton's opening obeisance to the religious powers is tongue-in-cheek stuff. Nevertheless gratuitous remarks like "His [the evolutionist's] researches to date make the existence of a Creative Intelligence more rather than less probable" make good work ring false at the very beginning.

Yet, if the intelligent reader stays with the book, he will find a commendable attempt to get at culture, man's social heredity, despite glaring lapses which amaze a Marxist.

The goal of anthropology is well put: "It is the ultimate aim of anthropology to discover the limits within which men can be conditioned, and what patterns of social life seem to impose fewest strains upon the individual." Anthropological practice at present concentrates in three fields: "the study of human origins, the classification of human varieties, and investigation of the life of the so-called 'primitive' peoples." Dr. Linton in his early chapters reviews and evaluates the work done in these fields, then makes an intensive study of the nature and dynamics of society and culture.

A more intelligent discussion of the race topic is hardly to be found in anthropological literature. The superstitions of race superiority-inferiority are thoroughly debunked, and intelligence tests are assayed for what they are worth. Let the I.-Q.-mongering psychologist ponder this: "It seems certain that any set of tests devised with reference to a particular cultural background will show persons with a different background to have a gratifyingly lower I. Q. Since practically all the tests used to date have been made by Europeans, the Europeans have uniformly emerged triumphant."

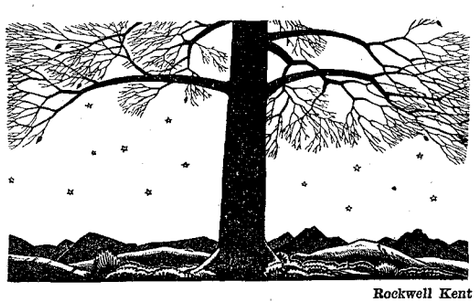
Culture, evolved out of animal learning, is a continuation of the process of acquired behavior; in man it is represented by configurations of socially acquired patterns of thinking and acting. All mammals learn; and the so-called human characteristics of communication, learning, transmission of learned behavior are among the features "which link man to the other mammals instead of distinguishing him from them." . . . "What we call thought is really an integral part of behavior, for there can be no mental activity without muscular activity of some sort. . . . Thinking is as much a matter of reflex arcs as is the winking of the eye. It is based on a combination of unconditioned and conditioned reflexes and on the selection and routing of stimuli." This is certainly tough-minded materialism.

The definition of society is quasi-Marxian. "A *society* is any group of people who have lived and worked together long enough to get themselves organized and to think of themselves as a social unit with well-defined limits." Nevertheless Dr. Linton strays from the firm ground of materialism in insisting that culture is a psychological entity, mental, a content of mind. Thus a migrating group bereft of material goods can adjust itself to a new habitat because of the patterns of thought and action it carries in the heads of its members: its technological knowledge and skill will be put into action.

In the contrasting of primitive societies with our bourgeois world of today the author delivers deft jabs into the paunch of philistine smugness. In discussing the institution of polyandry he says, "Any social worker will testify that even in our own society hard times often result in what is essentially a polyandrous arrangement, although the secondary husband is usually known as a boarder."

Marxists will read with interest Dr. Linton's careful description of how a change in method of production transforms the culture of a primitive society. The shift from dry rice cultivation to irrigated rice cultivation in the economy of the Tanala of western Madagascar upset, then reorganized the entire social structure.

On the other hand, there are wanderings from an outlook close to historical materialism that are positively astounding. Class struggles "do not seem to be of profound significance to the study of societies in general." . . . "Most of the world's societies have not been even class organized and in those which were so prior to the sudden rise of machine industry the classes had, in nearly every case, reached a condition of satisfactory adjustment." Such misreading of history comes as a shock. It ignores the perennial class struggles of ancient Greece and Rome, the slave revolts, the peasant wars of medieval Europe, the chronic conflicts between the three estates. We recommend Max Beer's *Social Struggle* series as an elementary text to our good author. Dr. Linton's dictum could apply only to primitive societies which are relatively classless, organized as they are mainly around forms of communal ownership of the means of production.



Rockwell Kent

Puzzling also are his remarks on women's work in modern society. It is unpardonable for a distinguished anthropologist to deal with economic and social forces that brought women into industry so trivially: "Our society did not suddenly decide that respectable women could work in offices and begin training women to that end. Instead certain women, as individuals, decided they wanted to work in offices and did so in spite of the fact that they were violating the accepted patterns for ladylike behavior."

The reviewer regrets that he cannot in the brief space allotted him discuss in more detail Dr. Linton's noteworthy analysis of culture itself. Chapters 16 ("Participation in Culture") and 17 ("The Qualities and Problems of Culture") are models of social scientific writing.

ARTHUR S. JOHNSON.

Society Notes

365 DAYS, *by Kay Boyle, Laurence Vail, Nina Conarain, and Various Other Hands. Harcourt, Brace & Co. $3.*

ONE of the most delightful events of recent months was held Wednesday evening last by the Coterie Study & Embroidery Club at the home of Miss Kay Boyle, who was ably assisted in her capacity of hostess by Laurence Vail and Nina Conarain. A modern color scheme of pink, purple, and brown was carried out in the extremely nifty decorations.

Fun was the order of the evening. A number of novelties in diversions were held, all being based on the unique *motif* of each guest drawing out of a hat one or more newspaper clippings for each day of the year 1934 and making up a story of not more than 300 words about it. Atty. Wm. C. March would of took first place with his two stories had it not been for the fact that the ever charming and resourceful hostess sprang a daring surprise through the kitchen door in the form of Rev. Clarence Winley (Ph.D.) of the African M. E. Church South, who, being a genuine darky pastor, regaled the assembled guests with six Negro stories, although a trifle gruesome and ungrammatical. In point of numbers, however, the hostess, Miss Boyle, comes out ahead, because each time she was called upon for a story, she simply responded by exhibiting a piece of her fancy work (which is the envy of every woman in town) to the number of 97 pieces. Laurence Vail came next with 42 pieces. Other guests who did not indulge in card games whiled away the evening with their embroidery hoops. As usual, in the course of the evening Mr. William Saroyan entertained with his familiar and ever-popular parlor stunt of the Armenian catching the hen.

Among those present were: Bessie Breuer, Bob Brown, Harry P. Boyle, Katherine E. Boyle, Larry Boyle, Kay Boyle, Nancy Cunard, Melville S. Drake, Grace Flandrau, Charles H. Ford, Karlton Klem, William

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Klem, Norman Macleod, Robert McAlmon, Fred R. Miller, Ira V. Morris, Freda Snowden, Lottie Sterne, Sydney Salt, Arthur Calder-Marshall, Paul Engle, Evelyn Scott, and Jas. T. Farrell.

Dainty refreshments were served at a late hour and one and all voted it a scrumptious time. GEORGE MILBURN.

Massachusetts Agitator

SAM ADAMS, PIONEER IN PROPAGANDA, *by John C. Miller. Little, Brown.* $4.

THE New England radical movement, which culminated in the American Revolution, had its origins in class struggles within the colonies. The converting of this debtor-creditor strife into a struggle against the British Empire was to a large extent the work of Sam Adams. And a great work it was!

The years before the Stamp Act and the beginning of active anti-British sentiment in the colonies were not featureless, as many of us imagine. They were very lively years, particularly in New England, where the debtor and voteless elements, with a crude inflationary program, waged a sharp political battle against the merchant-banker oligarchy of Boston. The populist program was eventually killed, but not until the sound-money group had appealed in considerable panic to the British Parliament. Defeated, the Massachusetts popular front fell apart and continued disunited and inert until after the Seven Years War. The victory of Britain over France in that conflict gave rise to certain conditions which made possible the secession of the colonies from the empire, a secession already latent in the independent industrial development of New England and the fettering of the colonial economy generally by British mercantilism. On the one hand the danger of French imperialism had been eliminated from the Continent, leaving the colonies free to deal with England alone. And on the other, England, through the well-known taxation policies of Grenville, Townshend, etc., began to crack down on the colonies.

Thus a new alignment of forces was made possible in America, and Adams, leader for years of the popular party in Massachusetts, master of machine politics, organizer of an extra-legal, semi-military body of Boston workers, busied himself to create the needed alliances. By means of Committees of Correspondence and other agitational measures, the popular elements were once more united, this time with recruits from the old Tory front: business men who had felt the pinch of England's taxes. In this fashion the diehard Tories were isolated and the anti-imperialist front was strengthened by the inclusion of a moderate group, few in numbers, strong in wealth and prestige. Demanding nothing to begin with except imperial reform, this group was eventually forced by the growing intransigence of England to adopt the complete radical program of war and independence.

For this strategic victory of the radicals, Sam Adams was largely responsible. He was "the man of the Revolution." After 1776, however, his influence waned quickly. Not apt enough in miltary affairs to be useful during the war, he was not constructive enough, either, to play any great part in the period of consolidation. He approved the suppression of the Shaysites, although their rebellion was an expression of genuine grievances on the part of those same rural elements which Adams had wooed so strenuously for the revolution. He was no "leveler," as Mr. Miller rightly says; but on the other hand he was no Federalist either, had little liking for the Constitution. Only when the Republicans came to power was he satisfied. On that great occasion he wrote to Jefferson: "The Storm is over and we are in Port."

Mr. Miller's well-written, shapely, interesting biography of Adams is somewhat irritating for its ungracious treatment of its hero. No open charges are made; formulations of any kind are rare; "scientific detachment" is the absolute rule; yet it is plain enough that to Mr. Miller, Adams was a clever politician, a "professional agitator" who made good, and little more. Like many another economic determinist of the mechanical school, Mr. Miller is a little disillusioned with history, particularly with revolutions and the men who are alleged to "make" them. For according to this view revolutions are the work of "aggressive" or "determined" minorities, who play upon the isolated economic grievances of the people, hypnotize them with propaganda, and hustle them toward revolution with clever strategy. To show the distortions which such a minority-plus-propaganda theory of history results in, let us cite that charge of exaggerating the issues, which Mr. Miller in his back-handed way brings against Sam Adams. True: his writings were shrill with cries of tyranny which, judged by the immediate and conscious intentions of the English, were sometimes farfetched. But was Adams attacking the individual Lords of Parliament or was he attacking that antiquated monstrosity, the British mercantile system, which those individuals represented in spite of themselves? And was that system able to maintain itself against the expanding productive forces of the colonies without *finally* resorting to tyranny—real tyranny in the shape of redcoats and repressive laws? Less of an opportunist than most of those who led the bourgeois revolutions, Adams appears to have foreseen this ultimate development and acted accordingly.

F. W. DUPEE.

Old Wine in New Bottles

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES, *by Gustavus Myers. Modern Library Giants.* $1.10.

THIS is an interesting and somewhat curious revision of a modern classic. The original 1909 edition of this work, like many or most classics, was greeted with fear and disdain by the publishers and critics of the time. For them Myers told altogether

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too baldly and completely the story of how the Goulds, Astors, Vanderbilts, Morgans, and others arrived at a position of enormous wealth and power under capitalism. As Myers neatly puts it, "Although in editorial after editorial the New York *World* had, in the most unmeasured language, denounced the criminal looting done by certain individuals and corporations, its reviewers objected to my summing up of the facts as 'declamatory.'"

In this work Myers did more than a mere "muckraking" job. (This was the famous period of the "muckrakers" when the best of them, like Lincoln Steffens, were struggling toward a clarity which arrived only later.) He made plain that there was a system underlying the symptoms he exposed, and that it was a system of exploitation. Much of his concrete material dealt with the conditions of the workers in the industries controlled by the financial buccaneers, and with the kinds of suppressive measures taken against the workers who organized to better their conditions. Finally, the concluding paragraph of the original edition was a call for socialism. This was no theoretical monument of the stature of *Das Kapital*. But it was more than a recitation of assorted skulduggeries in American high finance.

Since 1909 there have been changes in the world and in Gustavus Myers. The latter's development ran by no means parallel to that of Lincoln Steffens. Myers appeared to put behind him his exposures of capitalist fortunes, of the Supreme Court, and of Tammany Hall. A leaf was turned. National destiny became his theme. In 1925 appeared *The History of American Idealism*, dedicated to Otto H. Kahn. Here Mr. Myers asserts "It has been this constant exploring into evils that has given superficial observers the impression that America is a hotbed of crookedness and corruption. . . . Where in all history is to be found the precedent of a people idealistic and to such a preponderant degree that the nominal leaders simply expressed what the people themselves felt and thought?" This was written in the Harding-Coolidge era. Looking back to 1898, Myers saw the Spanish-American war as a great crusade of liberation. Of imperialism and Hearst, there is not a word.

The same theme was continued in *America Strikes Back*, published in 1935. This was so highly regarded by the Chemical Foundation, Inc., as to be put on its list for free distribution to college professors along with the nationalist writings of Samuel Crowther and George N. Peek. The publisher's advertisements represented Gustavus Myers as a St. George, famed for the slaying of the American muckraker.

The announcement that Myers was to revise and bring up to date his 1909 edition of *History of the Great American Fortunes* to be published as a Modern Library Giant of 1936 led to some speculation. Would Myers complete his retreat by scuttling his own classic? Or was he staging a comeback by a sudden reversion to his original interests?

A careful comparison of the two editions yields the following: the main body of the text remains almost unchanged. Death notices are added for some of the magnates who have passed from the scene since the first edition. A few pages on the current J. P. Morgan are added. Here there is a brief mention of the senatorial revelations concerning the Morgan firm as a key factor in America's entry into the World War. More space is allotted to the counter-statement issued by the firm itself. A slender chapter is inserted at the end of the volume allotting one or two paragraphs each to the Mellons, du Ponts, Woolworths, etc. These are in much the same vein as the original work.

The socialist conclusion of the original edition is dropped altogether. Here there is no conclusion. The original preface is retained, but a new one is added, suggesting that the problem is not as serious as when Myers first wrote. "Wealth, once regarded as a vested and sacred right, has ceased to be so considered. . . . Recent years have seen introduced what is the equivalent of a limitation on income from wealth."

Gustavus Myers has not scuttled his own classic. He has, I believe, somewhat bowdlerized it. The changes are relatively few, but they are for the worse. It may well be said that the house of Modern Library has performed a service to the American people in making this book available for a wider distribution than it has had heretofore. It would have performed a greater service by republishing the original unchanged or by persuading Mr. Myers to do a better revision. The latter probably would have required quite an effort.

ADDISON T. CUTLER.

Brief Review

THE TRUTH ABOUT COLUMBUS, *by Charles Duff. Introduction by Philip Guedalla. Illustrated. Random House.* $3.

The intimation in the title that important revelations about Columbus are made in the book is misleading. There are certain changes of emphasis; one upon existing knowledge in the fifteenth century of land to the west; another upon the character of Columbus; a third upon Jewish backing, financial and intellectual, of the expedition. The account, as a whole, is unusually well paced and readable.

★

Recently Recommended Books

The Theory and Practice of Socialism, by John Strachey. Random House. $3.

Art and Society: A Marxist Analysis, by George Plekhanov, with an introduction by Granville Hicks. Critics' Group. Cloth $1, paper 35c.

The Future of Liberty, by George Soule. Macmillan. $2.

The Best of Art Young, with an introduction by Heywood Broun. Vanguard. $3.

History of the Haymarket Affair, by Henry David. Farrar & Rinehart. $4.

Man's Worldly Goods, by Leo Huberman. Harper. $2.50.

Fighting Angel, by Pearl S. Buck. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.50.

The War Goes On, by Sholem Asch. Putnam. $3.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Miss Hellman's noble experiment—Hart & Kaufman hilarity—Music, movies, and the dance

THE most significant opening of the week was Miss Lillian Hellman's *Days to Come,* which Producer Herman Shumlin decided to close after a five-day run. It was a much better play than its short life would seem to indicate, and it was more important as a playwriting effort than as a finished play. In it the author of *The Children's Hour* attempted to give dramatic life to those twin phenomena of capitalist society, the outbreak of class strife and the decay of human relations in the bourgeois stratum. Handling these two themes in one play placed Miss Hellman under several handicaps, including first, an almost inevitable duality of focus, and second, the dilemma of having either to offer an individual (rather than a mass) as the protagonist of the working-class struggle, or further to unbalance the action by having a mass dominating one phase of the play and a few individuals the other. She chose the first alternative, with the result that the strike struggle and its violence were expressed only through the words of the organizer and a workman. Nevertheless, this aspect of the play, which bore heavily and truly upon the use of strikebreakers, was the sounder dramatically. The other aspect, the decay of the bourgeois family, suffered from the telling of the story largely through obliquity and innuendo, except in the last act, when this method was abandoned, not, alas, for dramatic action, but for an unpleasant lecture-symposium in which the various members of the factory-owning clan stripped bare their own and one another's rapacious, weak, and cowardly souls. A third defect of the play was the effort to integrate the two aforementioned phenomena of capitalist society into a dramatic unity by having the wife of the factory owner attempt to vitalize her futilitarian existence through love for the dynamic strike organizer. It sounds pretty raw, but it almost came off. The trouble was not so much in its incredibility as in the fact that it gave the whole business a plotty quality which was at war with its otherwise consistent realism. In sum, however, *Days to Come* was a rather absorbing play, and showed Miss Hellman to be a person who knows a lot about how the world wags. Taken as a portent, it suggests very interesting things from her in the future.

On the lighter side of life in this crazy world is *You Can't Take It With You,* by Moss Hart and George S. Kaufman, a hilarious and often wise farce in which the goofy-family tradition (à la *Hay Fever* and *Three-Cornered Moon*) of dramaturgy is given a bit of stiffening out of the philosophy of Henry David Thoreau, including his notions on civil disobedience. Around the bare (and even, if you will excuse the expression, threadbare) bones of the old story of the lass who comes from a nutty family and who therefore cannot see her way clear to marrying the son of the eminently right and proper family, the authors have erected a juicy tissue of appalling and magnificently funny *contretemps.* Their antic fancy has crowded the stage with an assortment of casual and ingenuous insanity that ranges from Mr. De Pinna, the iceman who made a delivery eight years ago and just stayed on, to a couple of mechanical snakes who put up their necks to ghast the unwary. There are a couple of real kittens, Harpo and Groucho, who steal the show until they are packed off to the kitchen. Instead of the intermittent explosion of smart gaglines, a type of humor that has suffered somewhat from its vogue, the laying of a whole powder-train of humorous situation which is visible before you and is then detonated by its natural arrival at a gag or a confrontation of incongruities gives *You Can't Take It With You* a pervasively funny quality seldom encountered. Apart from the fact that a couple of times it verges on anti-Negro chauvinism and delivers several below-the-belt jabs at relief and relief clientele, there is little to say except that it is very funny. Producer Sam Harris, meanwhile, had better be training a couple of understudies for Groucho and Harpo; they are going to be at the ungainly age long before his play folds. If it will help, we know of a litter of tortoise-shells. As for the rest of the cast, they are all good, with special honors to Josephine Hull, Henry Travers, Frank Conlan, and George Tobias.

What had appeared to have gained the proportions of a Trend fizzled out when the third military-school play this season, *Brother Rat,* opened last week. As you might guess from the program note that states that it was approved by Virginia Military Institute, this comedy is not about military schools in general or V.M.I. in particular. It is a comedy of young love which happens to have the V.M.I. campus as a setting. The authors, John Monks, Jr., and Fred F. Finklehoffe, attended that school and, according to the program, rewrote the play thirty-two times, which ought to be about enough, and it is. As it stands, *Brother Rat* is a workmanlike comedy of no special distinction which definitely fulfills its function of being light and engaging and funny entertainment. The audience was very positive in its liking, a fact which was as much attributable to Mr. George Abbott's presentation and direction and some first-class acting as it was to the text. Among the company, most of whom are youngsters, Frank Albertson was all that could be desired as the leading scapegrace, and Jose Ferrer again gave the kind of exceptional comic performance which he delivered in *Spring Dance.* Mr. Ferrer, in fact, is a rising star.

Mesdames au Galerie Helen Ludwig

A mystery-comedy of modest pretensions and still more modest achievement was *The Holmeses of Baker Street,* in which the redoubtable Sherlock comes back as a bee-fancier with a pretty daughter who aspires to continue the showing up of Scotland Yard where her papa left off. There is a priceless pearl and a carrier pigeon and some American bad men. And there is, as Dr. Watson's wife, Cissy Loftus, who does more than anyone else, even than Helen Chandler, to make something theatrical out of the rewrite William Jourdan Rapp and Leonardo Bercovici have done on a manuscript by British Basil Mitchell. As most of the reviewers remarked, there was an unusual amount of line-muffing, a phenomenon which continued through the second night. Now if the stage action were real-life action, this might be comprehensible, as there was quite a little tossing off of whiskey and soda, which on the stage, we have been taught, is merely cold tea. Consider our confusion, however, when we discerned among the acknowledgments at the foot of the playbill these pregnant words: "Whiskey by Haig & Haig."

ALEXANDER TAYLOR.

CONCERT MUSIC

THE reviewer's lot is not a happy one. My blood runs cold when I skim through a stack of weekly programs, the stones that are offered as bread for our musical nourishment. And nausea grips me when I think of the poor devils that scamper from hall to hall in the frantic effort to gulp down at least one mouthful from each unpalatable banquet, to be sourly regurgitated in the daily press. Here is field work for the economist and the philosopher: a study in the incredible wastage of time and money and effort, an even more significant diagnosis of the degradation that inevitably results from the poisoning of the tonal springs.

I can't, or at least I won't, pursue my own

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investigations into the depths of the routine recital or concert by either minor or reputedly major artists, but I find plenty of discouragement even in such programs as promise at least some exercise and education of the sensibilities. I went to the Beethoven Association concert of December 14, for example, to hear the Vivaldi four-violin concerto and the Bach arrangement of the same work for four claviers. But the former was given with a phony harpsichord for the continuo and slipshod fiddling to boot, and the Bach version was heard on the usual four pianos—sounding for all the world like a gigantic pianola. The audience got all excited about a group of noisy two-piano show pieces and the more mannered song performances of Povla Frijsh, although the most admirable musical work of the evening was the latter's singing of Fauré's exquisite *Au Cimitière* and a Disneyish miniature drama by the Czech Jaroslav Kricka—a delightful combination of good entertainment and deft tonal writing.

The too-frequently unerring ear of audiences for the cheapest items on any program and the natural but no more forgivable desire of performers to knock hearers off their already unsteady feet mars even such excellent concerts as those by the English Singers (December 5, 13, and 20). From the memorable evening in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, some ten or more years ago, when I first heard Cuthbert Kelley and his ensemble, they have furnished more genuine musical stimulation than any other concertizing organization I know. Yet they never completely fulfill the high expectations they raise: their emphasis on bonhomie (sometimes verging on cuteness) makes for refreshing enough entertainment and probably accounts in large measure for their public success, but it also makes for a shifting of accent—a stress on minor rather than major musical qualities. They give too many little works, and music of real stature is projected too often through the wrong end of the telescope.

I quarrel more with this than with their actual musical deficiencies. The works of the madrigal school are *vocal chamber music,* and demand an ensemble of voices that can sing as the Pro Arte or Roth String Quartets play. The English Singers give us such executive craftsmanship only in an occasional carol or Vaughan Williams folk-song setting. Their weaknesses are more apparent where they are most dangerous: in the big works. But this again is more a disappointment than a danger—such as the tendency to skim the depths of truly profound music. Thomas Weelkes's *Thule,* one of the most astonishing feats of musical imagination by one of the greatest composers of all time, is a pertinent example. Kelley introduced it with a little talk that undoubtedly helped to arouse interest in those to whom it was unfamiliar (a good ninety-nine percent of the audience), but the approach was entirely false. If even the English Singers give the impression that a work such as this is merely a curiosity, a prophetic experiment, it is no wonder that a majority of

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the hearers will fail to realize its full significance and implications. And there was no excuse for the failure to give the remarkable text in full. I cannot resist quoting it here; not only should it be known for its own sake, but it is the true clue to the magnificence and audacious fantasy of Weelkes's music:

Thule, the period of cosmography,
Doth vaunt of Hecla, whose sulphurious fire
Doth melt the frozen Clime and thaw the Sky;
Trinacrian Aetnae's flames ascend not higher.
These things seem wondrous, yet more wondrous I,
Whose heart with fear doth freeze, with love doth fry.

The Andalusian Merchant, that returns
Laden with Cochineal and China dishes,
Reports in Spain how strangely Fogo burns
Amidst an Ocean full of flying fishes.
These things seem wondrous, yet more wondrous I,
Whose heart with fear doth freeze, with love doth fry.

The Elizabethans were not merely composers of charming lute songs (such as those given so deftly at the English Singers' concerts by Nellie Carson) and saucy fa-la ballets. The age that begat terrestrial explorers and writers whose pioneering achievements are still incomparable, probed the human brain and heart with tonal scapels wielded with an accuracy that puts their descendants no less to shame. We have dug up Shakespeare and given him his say again, but only an occasional shudder of ornate tombstones betrays the vital life we still lock up (so politely and respectfully) in the graves of Weelkes and Byrd.

R. D. DARRELL.

THE SCREEN

MOST folk films are essentially tied up with a great deal of intimate ethnological detail. And for the fullest appreciation of them, a certain amount of understanding of the specific history and culture is necessary. Thus the revolutionary implications of Dovjenko's early films (*Zvenigoria, Arsenal,* and *Soil*) were almost buried in traditional folklore. *Janosik,* the new Czechoslovakian offering at the Filmarte, is a national film with broad and stirring revolutionary implications. It is a folk film, a folk opera rich in local culture, but as understandable to the Chinese peasant or American sharecropper as it is to the Czechoslovakian worker.

Janosik is an eighteenth-century Carpathian peasant, a product of the great and vigorous national uprising against the Hapsburg rule at the end of the seventeenth century. The film opens upon scenes of oppression and serfdom. When one of the peasants dares to protest against the cruelty of the master, he is tortured to death. This old man is Janosik's father, and his death precipitates the activity which will make Janosik a national hero. He goes to the mountain and sings out in a voice that is heard over the whole countryside:

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For there is a great wrong.
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shepherds. It is sung, beautifully and with great passion. This sequence is handled with such simplicity that one doesn't mind the sudden allegorical turn in the film. With the gathering of the band, the film goes realistic once more. This Robin Hood not only steals from the rich to give to the poor, but he fights against their oppression. At one point the lord gives a feast for his guests and asks the starving peasants to contribute to the feast and also come and look on while the nobles eat and are entertained. But Janosik interrupts the proceedings and instead gives a feast for the peasants in the house of their master. At the end of the meal he takes out a bag of gold and proceeds to divide the money among his guests. To one he says:

Go from your sorrow
Go from your toil . . .

To another:

This for your pig
This for your chicken so that
She may have little golden chicks . . .

The fame of Janosik and his band spreads throughout the land. He is loved and protected by the people. The only way in which the authorities can catch him is through imported soldiers (even in those days) and treachery. He is of course "tried" and put to death. When he is asked to give up his revolutionary activity and fight the Turks for the Hapsburgs, he says, "I choose death and not treachery."

The final sequence of the film is one of the most remarkable things I have ever seen. He is about to be hung by a huge hook through the ribs. He suddenly breaks free and goes into a death dance under the gallows. It is a remarkable dance which increases in intensity and power until Janosik is suddenly seized by the executioners and impaled upon the hook. The power of this end is a tribute to the performer and the director.

Janosik is played by a former policeman, and it is his first role. Director Paul Bielik has not only endowed this film with skillful direction, but with beautiful cinematography. Although one is tempted to compare it with other "Robin Hood" films, especially M.G.M.'s *Viva Villa,* there isn't any point. For *Janosik* makes them insignificant and shallow by comparison.

PETER ELLIS.

THE DANCE

IT IS John Martin's conclusion and his excellent section on the social and historical background as they affected the cultural development of America that give his book, *America Dancing,** its distinction. He defends vigorously the revolutionary Puritan tradition; he develops the continuity of its struggle first against British imperialism, then the planters' aristocracy, and now "industrial feudalism"—against a colonial culture and a slave art. His faith that America is dancing,

* With photographs by Thomas Bouchard. Dodge Publishing Co. $3.

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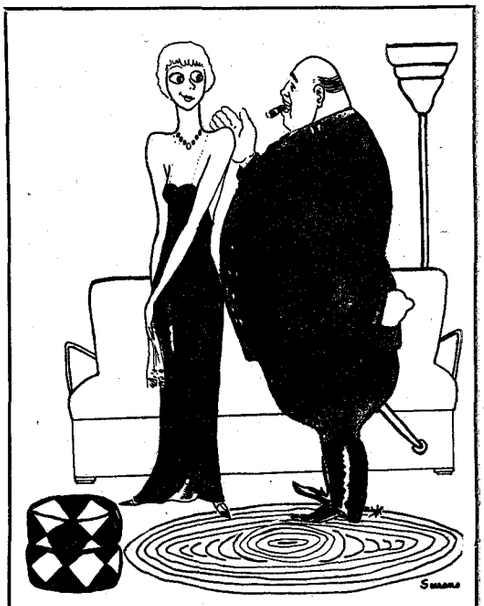

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"anti-authoritarian . . . functional . . . democratic . . . a new vision of life" has a warmth and a vigor and an exciting conviction.

The spirit is carried over into his chapter on Isadora Duncan. He writes of her "red tunic" along with the "ragtime uproar of 1910" in terms of popular defiance. And for the contemporary dance, he understands that there is a "definite kinship between the transitions towards collectivism in society and towards functionalism in the arts." But somewhere this particular line of thought stops and the bulk of the book becomes a pedestrian survey of the principal personalities in the modern dance field.

The survey itself is informative; occasionally penetrating. Generally, it is the development of the opinions Mr. Martin has expressed in the columns of the New York *Times*. Various analyses of the different dancers make a fair enough introduction for the unacquainted —for whom he also includes chapters on "how to look at dancing," and a piece on "modernity." For the initiates, these pages constitute a methodical résumé: gossipy rather than critical.

The failure of Mr. Martin to carry through the social thesis of his introduction is unfortunate, and the book is unbalanced by it. Indicative, in a volume flooded with names of compositions of later date and less significance, is the failure to mention Martha Graham's acclaimed and artistically important *Imperial Gesture*.

However, the literature of the contemporary dance field is rather meager, and *America Dancing,* for all its shortcomings, is something of an event for the modern dance movement.

OWEN BURKE.

The Radio

FORTHCOMING BROADCASTS

"The Science Youth Movement," discussed by Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, general secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Dean Howard C. Enders, Purdue University, Mon., Dec. 28, 2:30 p.m., Columbia.

Controversial subjects. The next topic in the series will be "Should Professors Be Active in Politics?" Mon., Dec. 28, 10:30 p.m., Columbia.

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American Artists' School. Thirty-four exhibitors, many of them NEW MASSES contributors, are represented in an exhibition of paintings, drawings, prints, and small sculpture at the school's gallery, 131 W. 14th St., N. Y.

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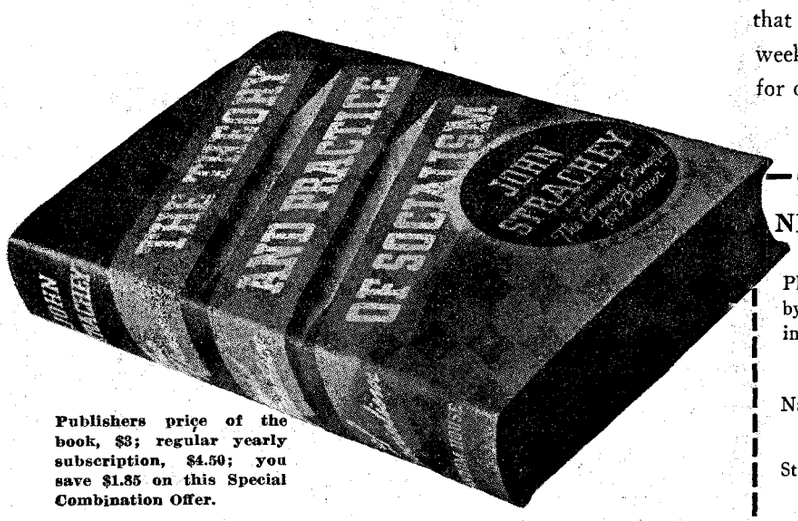

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